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Wanted: New Interpretations in American History

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It takes no profound intellect to recognize that within a year of the cessation of the bloodiest hostilities of history, the outlook for world peace is dark and gloomy. Further, the issues which have split the people into warring camps on the domestic front do not serve to mitigate the feeling of frustration which has been felt by those teachers who are genuinely concerned for the future of their fellow man. It is a gross understatement to say that a crisis faces mankind. The world may very well be faced with its last opportunity to bring order out of chaos, decency out of degradation, and liberty out of a world even now filled with tyranny.

It may seem like a long throw from the passing of such a critical judgment upon the state of human affairs to the question of how to teach American history in the classroom. As a matter of fact, there is the closest relationship between the events that are transpiring before our eyes and the nature of discussion as it proceeds among young Americans who are today grappling with the problems of their own history.

This relationship prevails for a number of reasons. One is that American history is still the principal required subject in the social studies curriculum. Another is that the drama of American history is the best laboratory in the world for studying the evolution of a state founded on the principle of equality. Still

another factor is that our nation cannot meet its moral responsibilities to the world unless its citizenry has a notion of how to solve its own social conflicts, and such solutions must rest upon an intelligent knowledge of the past. Finally, for those teachers who are sufficiently skillful to grasp their opportunity, they can combine their consideration of the currents of history with the impact of modern forces in a manner designed to bring forth into the "arena of give and take," citizens armed with a deep social consciousness and knowledge to do something about it.

It has been suggested by some teachers that we are in such a critical state of affairs that the required procedure is that we "throw out the window" all attention to history per se, and turn immediately to an evaluation of contemporary problems. Judging from the way in which history is taught in many classrooms, this suggestion may have considerable merit in it. Of course, if a teacher doesn't know how to conduct an interesting and enlightening discussion of the history, the chances are that he or she would also fail in the area of current events. At least, in the latter field, students might learn something which would be of value to them in their every day living.

But the simple fact is that American history is going to remain in the curriculum. It thus behooves the teacher to create from these so-called "dry bones," meanings which will be

deeply significant for those who come in contact with them, and for those who will benefit from the newly-found knowledge and understandings of young people. And as previously indicated, American history properly taught, can be as full of vitality as life itself.

What is needed is a new kind of American history. Is the foregoing statement a trite one? There is much that is new, today. For example, the educational journals are filled with "new" approaches to this and that, but when this "newness" is closely examined it vaporizes before the realization that some writer has tried to create a "splurge" by stating an old, old idea in a kind of professional jargon that is consciously or unconsciously designed to confuse the reader.

The new kind of American history is needed, not because no one has thought or spoken of it, but because it has not been put into practical use on any considerable scale. As a matter of fact, when James Harvey Robinson talked about a kind of history that would have meaning for the masses of the people, he was unquestionably on the right track. But really, has anything important been done about it?

Most Americans—even the younger ones—still have the conception that the history of their own land which was taught in school was pretty dull stuff. And it probably was. What was the matter with it? The difficulty was that the teacher maintained a kind of benevolent neutrality. Either the subject had no meaning for the teacher, or he was afraid to take a stand on those issues which have been directly posed by the developing panorama of our nation's past.

This does not mean that a teacher need be belligerent. Such an approach is unfair to the students. But for American history to breathe vitality, it is essential that the teacher approach the subject from a definitely partisan point-of-view. This does not mean that he need insist that his students accept the same viewpoint. It means that the class discussion should be kept open at all times for the free play and clash of ideas. But let it be said that the only way to get American history successfully out of the vacuum chamber in which it has been confined these many years, is to elucidate and clarify those issues which have contributed to an expanding American democracy.

This is assuming, of course, that democracy can be defined. And it can be—it must be if the world is to be saved. We should be past the point by this time of thinking that perhaps Hitler was right. If we aren't, then in truth there is no hope for the world. Democracy means: (1) the rule of the majority, such rule based on free elections with the civil rights of political minorities to be preserved; (2) the right to participate in political life without the restrictions of such inhibiting statutes as poll-tax laws which violate the spirit of the American Constitution; (3) the right to equality of economic opportunity regardless of race, color, or creed; (4) the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively in behalf of a rising standard of living for themselves and their families; (5) freedom of religion, of the press, of speech, and the right for groups to assemble and petition the government; (6) the right to a decent education for all people and the responsibility of the government to see to it that all people have such a right in practical form.

These are but a few of the basic tenets of the democratic way of life. It might be added that an expanding economy is an essential criterion of democracy, as is some kind of a world government which will be predicated on the assumption that a society founded on liberty will not endure unless there is a world order likewise founded on the same principle.

The crux of the matter can be stated thus: What periods in American history deserve to be emphasized as bringing closer to realization some or all the foregoing articles of faith? A teacher need not be dogmatic in this regard, but there is no doubt that some eras in our history have brought us farther down the road to a truly democratic social order.

The first period, although not technically a part of the history of the nation, was the period of the War of Independence. When discussing this, teachers should emphasize the significance for all time to come of our Declaration of Independence, and the writings of Tom Paine. A second period was ushered in by that great democrat, Thomas Jefferson, who took the reins of government out of the hands of John Adams at a time when Adams had become a party to attacks by the Federalists upon the rights of aliens and upon the rights of all those who dared criticize the efforts of the Federal-

ist leaders to curtail the political freedoms of the nation's citizens.

A third period was the one of Andrew Jackson. This era, still taught in many schools as the time of the "infamous spoils system," was in truth a time when the vote was extended to many persons who had previously been disqualified because they lacked property. It was the time of the formation of the first important labor unions in our land. It was the time of the war on the Bank of the United States which had become a government-backed tool for enriching some unscrupulous bankers and speculators. It was the time when the frontiersmen for the first time came into their own.

Another period of expanding democracy was certainly the Lincolnian era. It marked the first time when a major party appeared on the scene which was willing to take an unequivocal stand on the slavery issue. The immortality of Lincoln cannot be too often stressed. And we might well discuss in class in the light of the present antics of certain congressmen from some sections of the United States: Just who did win the Civil War?

After Lincoln, there is a long gap which remained undramatized by the greatness of any political figure. This was the era when big business was in the saddle, driving the whole country before it, and in most cases, this included any particular occupant of the White House.

In recent times, we have the Wilsonian era, dominated as it was by Wilson's "New Freedom," which in a sense caught the progressive tenor of the times, and in particular, Wilson's dramatic, persistent fight for a world of decency based on the rule of law among nations. Finally, there is the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Perhaps, we are too close to this one to evaluate it objectively. But there would seem to be little doubt that in his efforts on behalf of the common man, and in his tireless de-

votion to the cause of world peace—a devotion which brought a premature end to his life—Roosevelt has characterized all that is best in the American, the democratic, tradition.

The record drawn here is not intended to be a complete one. But it is thought to be a realistic one, one permeated with meaning. Unless American history is taught from a definitely partisan point-of-view, driving home the facts which bear significance while always granting the right of a difference of opinion, then the history of our land shall have no relationship whatever to the world scene, and its teaching will be of possible value only in the sense that it gives the teacher a chance to draw his salary.

The "New American History" has appeared in the curriculum of many schools and colleges, and such courses are frequently based on "new" textbooks. But there is essentially little that is new about either. It is granted that these courses and these books bring into play some devious fact or piece of information not generally known or previously considered. But for their relation to education in the world of atomic energy, they are as antiquated as the many beds in which George Washington is supposed to have slept.

Some authorities claim that there has been too much attention to the political facets of our history. But let us remember that "politics makes the world go round." Politics, on a national and an international scale will, within the next few years, determine whether we are going to have one world, or none. The real, the basic trouble with the teaching of American history has been not that too much politics has been taught. It is that the politics considered has been approached carelessly and without regard for the singular contribution which a true knowledge and understanding of American history can play in the years that lie ahead.

One Life Removed From the Presidency

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"I wish gentlemen to think what I shall be!" This was no rhetorical plea. These words—possibly more pertinent today than when they were spoken—came from the heart of our first Vice President shortly after his election to office.

The recent death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the consequent accession of Mr. Harry Truman to the presidency in this critical period in our history has focused our attention on our Vice President and what he "shall be." This subject, moreover, involves more than the highly important legislative procedure of succession in case of the death of a President; it causes thoughtful men to be deeply concerned over our rather haphazard manner of nominating men for the second highest elective office in the country.

The concern of the public over the present set-up has been evidenced in its reaction to the unintentional chances taken by Mr. Truman in making unnecessary journeys by air under dangerous weather conditions and in the expression of grave apprehension regarding the qualifications of the Secretary of State—first, Edward Stettinius and later, James Byrnes—who stands next in order of succession to the presidency.

The Chief Executive himself brought the matter before Congress, on June 19, 1945, in a special message urging the immediate revision of the Presidential Succession Act of 1886, so that the order of succession after the Vice President would begin not with the Secretary of State but the Speaker of the House of Representatives. In this grave crisis, therefore, when a Vice President, thrown precipitately into the White House, is struggling with a confused and intricate mass of world problems, which would baffle the best minds of this or any other age, we may find it timely to review not only the order of succession beyond the Vice President but also the manner of selecting

the candidates whose chances of becoming President through the death of the occupant of that exalted office are much greater than is generally believed.

The official status of the Vice President in the national administration has been a moot question from the foundation of the government. Neither Madison's *Journal* of the proceedings of the Federal Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution, nor *The Federalist*, a series of eighty-five essays written by Madison, Hamilton, and Jay in its defense during the hotly contested campaign for its ratification by the States, gives more than passing attention to the powers and duties vested in this office.

The Constitution itself is brief and indefinite on this subject. In the clause dealing with the succession it merely states that in the event of the "Removal of the President from Office, or his Death, Resignation or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office" these "shall devolve on the Vice President"; and it outlines in a single sentence of twenty-three words the duties of the Vice President as consisting of presiding officially over the sessions of the Senate and of casting a ballot in the rare case of a tied vote in that body. Indeed, not until the national government had been established did the people in general and the Vice President in particular come to realize that this official had little or no authority and that his only chance for fame rested on the accident of the President's death or inability to perform his constitutional duties.

In fact, when John Adams was elected our first Vice President, he appears to have felt that he had been chosen to an exalted office almost equal in significance to that of George Washington. Although flowers may not have been strewn in his path as he journeyed from his home in Quincy, Massachusetts, to New York City, the seat of the new government,

local militia companies escorted him much of the way, and the towns through which he passed vied with one another in honoring him with parades, dinners, laudatory toasts, and addresses. It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that the somewhat egotistical John Adams was chagrined when the fact gradually dawned on him that his new office was almost wholly devoid of authority and was destined to decline in prestige with the passing of time.

William McClay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania during the period of the organization of Congress, gives a graphic account in his *Journal* for April 25, 1789, of one of the many utterances of Adams which emphasized his disillusionment and disappointment. He tells that shortly before George Washington was to arrive in the Senate to be administered the oath of office as President, Adams remarked to the Senate, which had previously completed its organization:

Gentlemen, I do not know whether the framers of the Constitution had in view the two Kings of Sparta or the two Consuls of Rome when they formed it; one to have all the power while he held it, and the other to be nothing. Nor do I know whether the architect that formed our room and the wide chair in it (to hold two, I suppose) had the Constitution before him. Gentlemen, I feel great difficulty how to act. I am possessed of two separate powers; the one is *esse* and the other is *posse*. I am Vice President. In this I am nothing, but I may be everything. But I am President also of the Senate. When the President comes into the Senate, what shall I be? I can not be President then. No, gentlemen, I can not. I can not. I wish gentlemen to think what I shall be!

While various of the Senators were endeavoring to give him helpful advice, one of the more distinguished of the group stated "that wherever the Senate are to be, there, sir, you must be at the head of them," but that beyond this he would "not pretend to say." Thus our first Vice President aptly summarized the character of the office.

The vice presidency, nevertheless, was given considerable significance in the early days because of the procedure followed in the election of the President and the Vice President. In the

true sense of the word there was no candidate for Vice President, for the electors cast two votes for President without stating their preferences; and, as was doubtless intended, the one receiving the greatest number of votes became President, provided there was a majority, and the one receiving the next highest became Vice President. Under this arrangement able men in national politics usually filled both offices. Thus Adams was the runner-up for President in our first two elections; and when he became President in 1800, Thomas Jefferson, probably the second most influential man in the country, became Vice President.

By 1800, however, political parties had come into existence and altered the whole situation. The Jeffersonian Democrats, in their efforts to win both the presidency and the vice presidency, instructed their electors to vote for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, intending to make Jefferson President and Burr Vice President. They won the election; but Aaron Burr had an equal number of votes with Jefferson, since the electors were not permitted to express their choice in casting their two votes. The situation was complicated further by the fact that Burr decided to contest the election with Jefferson, when, owing to the lack of a majority vote, the final decision came before the House of Representatives as provided in the Constitution. In the end, of course, Jefferson won the presidency, and Burr was forced to content himself with the second place.

This unfortunate controversy and the general feeling that the President and the Vice President should belong to the same political party resulted in an amendment to the Constitution—the twelfth—which was ratified in 1804. This authorized the electors to vote for President and Vice President on separate ballots. Since this arrangement insured that the President and the Vice President would normally be of the same party, it lessened the possibility of the results of an election being nullified on the death of a President when the Vice President chanced to be of the minority party. Thenceforth, accordingly, the major parties nominated specific individuals for each position.

Although this amendment corrected one serious defect in the original method of voting for President and Vice President, it tended to the

nomination for the vice presidency of men of lower caliber. Whereas in 1796 and again in 1800 a Vice President in the preceding administration had been elected to the presidency, in the ensuing one hundred forty-four years only one Vice President was ever elected to the presidency. That exception was Martin Van Buren, who rode into office largely on the prestige of his sponsor Andrew Jackson. Indeed, after 1800 few men of national prominence and outstanding ability sought the secondary office. As a matter of fact, the duties of the Vice President are so insignificant and the opportunities for the display of talent so limited that those who were unfortunate enough to be elected found their political careers abruptly terminated. To be sure, able men became Vice Presidents, but in almost every instance they accepted nomination as a matter of party obligation with a full realization of the sacrifice they were making.

Even the nominating conventions of the major parties have given the question of the running mate but scant consideration. In almost every instance, after days of wrangling over the party platform and the nomination of the presidential candidate, the delegates have been so exhausted from their continuous labors and so saturated with tobacco smoke and spirituous liquors that the mere drop of a hat might start a stampede for home. In this extremity a few of the party leaders would gather in a caucus to canvass the vice presidential situation. The problem was often a simple one. If the presidential candidate belonged to the conservative wing of the party, then in the interest of harmony the vice presidential candidate should be chosen from the liberal wing. If the presidential candidate was a resident of the region east of the Alleghenies, then the Vice President should come from the Middle West. With these two requirements before them they would begin to consider the available men. Then, however, they faced the major problem, namely, the difficulty of persuading men of national prominence to accept the nomination.

When they had overcome this obstacle and presented the name of the candidate to the Convention, favorable action, with but few exceptions, was obtained with little or no opposition. As a rule, the presidential nominee was not consulted previous to the final nomin-

ation by the Convention. Among the few exceptions to this generalization was the insistence of President Roosevelt that his running mate in 1940 be Henry Wallace, and in 1944 be Harry Truman. In these instances the general belief is that neither Wallace nor Truman could have secured the nomination without this presidential mandate.

In like manner President Andrew Jackson in 1832 forced an unwilling Democratic Convention to name Martin Van Buren as candidate for Vice President.

Typical of many vice presidential nominations was that of Chester A. Arthur of New York in the campaign of 1880. After a bitter fight, the "Stalwarts" or conservatives in the Republican Convention, who had sought the nomination of ex-President Grant for a third term, were defeated and were forced to accept James A. Garfield of Ohio as a compromise candidate. To avoid an open split in the party, which was certain to cause them to lose the election, a small group of political leaders engineered the nomination of Arthur for Vice President. Not only was he comparatively unknown, but he had held no public office of any consequence and had been associated throughout his entire political career with the spoils system and machine politics of a rather sordid type.

Somewhat different was the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt to run with President McKinley in the campaign of 1900. Roosevelt, a young man of great promise and an independent Liberal Republican, had been a thorn in the side of the conservative members of his party during his governorship of New York. As a means of eliminating him not only from state politics but from national politics as well, some of the so-called bosses of the party forced the vice presidential nomination on him against his violent protests. In connection with this bit of political chicanery Mark Hanna, a shrewd political boss from Ohio, asked the instigators of this plot if they realized that there would be just one life between that man and the Presidency of the United States. The significance of this remark was brought home to the entire nation when Roosevelt became president following the death by assassination of President McKinley a few months after his inauguration on March 4, 1901.

Two other cases might be cited to illustrate our present haphazard method of naming our vice presidential candidates. In the political campaign of 1840, the Whigs nominated the 68-year-old William Henry Harrison as their candidate for President. To win support for their ticket they nominated as his running mate John Tyler, a States' Rights Democrat from Virginia, whose hostility to Jackson and Van Buren had caused him to cooperate with the Whigs on many issues before the country. Partly as a result of this unique party affiliation Van Buren was defeated for re-election, and the Whigs gained control of the government. One month after the inauguration, however, the aged Harrison died, and Tyler was elevated to the presidency. Friction between the Whig majority in the government and President Tyler developed immediately with the result that Tyler was repudiated by the Whigs and in turn joined forces with the Democrats. Thus the results of an election were nullified at the very beginning of his term by the death of a President because of the ill-advised nomination of a vice presidential candidate by a party convention which was more concerned with winning an election than with serving the best interests of the country.

A similar situation occurred in the campaign of 1864. In that year the fortunes of war were at a very low ebb for the government at Washington and the Republican party which was in charge of its administration. Consequently, to unify all loyal elements in support of the war the re-nomination of Lincoln was accompanied by the placing of a Democrat from Tennessee on the ticket as candidate for Vice President. Soon after the inauguration of Lincoln in March, 1865, the war came to an end. The death of President Lincoln at the hands of an assassin, five months after his inauguration, elevated Johnson to the presidency. Since the conditions that had prompted the nomination of Johnson had disappeared, the Republican party discovered to its sorrow that they had elected a Democrat to the presidency. Thus the tragic death of Lincoln nullified the results of another election and placed in the White House a representative of the party defeated at the polls.

These illustrations are sufficient to emphasize the importance in connection with the sub-

ject of the presidential succession, now before Congress, of giving some consideration to the prevalent method of nominating our candidates for Vice President. Of equal significance is the necessity of finding some way to add prestige to the office so that men of presidential caliber may be willing to seek and accept the office. Since it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to add substantially to the powers of the Vice President without creating other major problems, a possible solution might be an amendment to the Constitution abolishing the office of Vice President altogether and placing the presidential succession either in the Secretary of State and the other Cabinet members in the order of the creation of their respective departments, as at present, or in the Speaker of the House of Representatives and then in the President pro tempore of the Senate, as proposed by President Truman, with the stipulation that national elections be held at the earliest possible date to fill the vacancy. Indeed, there is little to justify the continuance of the office of Vice President as it is constituted today.

The need for the re-examination of the office of Vice President, particularly as it is related to the question of presidential succession, is brilliantly illustrated in the following statistics. Of our thirty-two Presidents, seven have died in office, five of them during the early months of their respective terms of office. The total period during which a Vice President has served as our Chief Executive is approximately twenty-four years. Of significance also is the fact that of our thirty-four Vice Presidents an equal number, or seven, have died in office, and another, John C. Calhoun, resigned. In the case of these eight Vice Presidents the total number of years of their respective unexpired terms of office is about sixteen. Since the Constitution makes no provision for filling a vacancy in the vice presidency in the event of either elevation to the presidency or death, there has been a vacancy in the office during about forty years, or twenty-five percent, of the one hundred and fifty-six years of its existence.

It is indeed fortunate that in no single instance has the vacancy created by the death of the President coincided with a vacancy in the vice presidency. There have been several

narrow escapes, however. One of these occurred in 1844 when President Tyler, who assumed office on the death of William Henry Harrison, went on a cruise on the *U.S.S. Princeton* on the Potomac river in company with his Cabinet and a distinguished group of Congressmen. For the benefit of their guests, the officers of the ship fired several shots from one of the two guns reputed to be the largest in the world. (They fired one 225-pound cannon ball a distance of nearly three miles.) Unfortunately, one shot caused the explosion of the gun, which killed the Secretaries of State and War and several other members of the party. The death list might have included the President had not he and others happened to be below deck at the time of the explosion. Previously, most of the party had witnessed the firing of this same gun from close quarters. If the President had been killed, the country would have been left temporarily without either a President or a Vice President. The same situation would have prevailed if the impeachment of President Johnson in 1868 had resulted in his conviction; but he was sustained by one vote only.

The framers of the Constitution apparently realized the possibility of a simultaneous vacancy in the offices of both President and Vice President. At least they specifically vested in Congress the authority to provide an order of succession beyond that of the Vice President. Such a law was passed by Congress in 1792. By this measure the President pro tempore of the Senate was placed next in the line of succession, and in the event that there was no President pro tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House was to assume the duties of the President. The law provided further for the election of a President at the earliest practicable date to serve during the unexpired part of the presidential term.

Though the question of the alteration of the order of presidential succession came before Congress and the country at frequent intervals, not until 1876 did it receive serious consideration. At that time Senator Hoar, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, asserted that the succession act of 1792 was unconstitutional because the Constitution confined the presidential succession to an "officer," and the Supreme Court in a decision in 1797 had ruled that the members of Congress were not officers within

the meaning of the Constitution. Hence, neither the President pro tempore nor the Speaker was eligible to assume the presidency. The question raised by Senator Hoar came up again for consideration in 1881, when for several months after Vice President Arthur assumed the presidency, following the death of James A. Garfield, there was neither a President pro tempore nor a Speaker of the House. This identical situation arose again in 1885 following the death of Vice President Hendricks. Thoroughly aroused by this succession of events, Congress in 1886 passed a new Succession Act, which placed the order of succession in the Cabinet beginning with the Secretary of State and continuing in the order of the establishment of the Cabinet departments.

This order of succession appears to have met with little criticism prior to the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt in April, 1945, and the consequent accession of Harry Truman to the presidency. A unique situation soon presented itself, however. Mr. Truman was sixty years of age; and the next in order of succession, Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, had had little experience in government and no connection with party politics. The nature of the world crisis through which the country was passing and the part which our President was destined to play in it, as well as the political aspects of the question appeared to justify a change in the Succession Act of 1886. Consequently, on June 19, 1945, President Truman sent a special message to Congress in which he expressed his belief that the succession should go to an officer elected by the people rather than to an appointee of the President, as provided for in the Succession Act of 1886.

He then presented for the consideration of that body a program which he felt would meet the needs of the situation. This plan placed the order of succession in the Speaker of the House; and in the event of no Speaker of the House, the President pro tempore was to serve until either a Speaker had qualified or a President had been chosen. Should there be neither a Speaker of the House nor a President pro tempore, as was the case twice during the eighties as noted, the Secretary of State should assume the duties of President until a Speaker had been elected. President Truman further suggested the wisdom of holding a special

national election at the earliest practicable date for the selection of a President to serve during the remainder of the unexpired term. These proposals were quite similar to those embodied in the Succession Act of 1792 except for reversing the order of the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore in the line of succession.

As a result of President Truman's recommendation, a number of bills varying considerably in scope and character were introduced in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. On June 29, after comparatively little debate on the question the House passed a bill recommended by its Committee on Privileges and Elections, which embodied the President's suggestions with the exception of those calling for the holding of a special election for the selection of a President to serve during the remainder of each unexpired term of office.

Neither this measure nor others introduced in the Senate have as yet come up for final vote. Meanwhile, interest in the proposed legislation both in and out of Congress has subsided somewhat as a result of the replacement of Edward Stettinius by James Byrnes as Secretary of State. Even President Truman seems to have lost some of his enthusiasm for his proposal.

In the debates on the question in Congress, and in the press, those who supported a revision of the existing legislation along the lines suggested by President Truman have added little to the arguments advanced by him. These state that the present system of succession makes it possible for the President virtually to name his successor in the event of his own death because he selects his Cabinet, and that in a democracy this power should not be vested in the Chief Executive. Since the President and the Vice President are the only officers chosen by the entire electorate of the nation, the official who more nearly approaches them from the point of view of democratic procedure is the Speaker of the House. While the Speaker represents a single district of fewer than a half million people, he is elected to the Speakership by the members of Congress, each of whom is elected by the people. A similar situation prevails in the Senate in the case of the President pro tempore, except that there the tenure is six instead of two years and only one-third of that body are elected at any single election year.

On the other hand, those who oppose the President's recommendations contend that there is serious doubt as to the constitutionality of the proposed legislation and that the seniority system of elevating members of Congress to chairmanships of committees and even to the offices of the Speaker and President pro tempore in the Senate provides but little assurance that men of presidential caliber will be chosen. Sam Rayburn, the Speaker of the House, is sixty-three years old; Kenneth McKellar, the President pro tempore of the Senate, is seventy-six. The supporters of the present order of succession maintain further that our history presents abundant evidence to show that the Secretaries of State have been eminently more prominent and, at the same time, better qualified for the presidency both in ability and experience than either the Speakers of the House or the Presidents pro tempore of the Senate. For instance, James K. Polk, who does not rank among our best Presidents, is the only Speaker who has ever been elected to the Presidency. Only two other Speakers, James G. Blaine and Henry Clay, both of whom also served as Secretaries of State, have been nominated for President by a major party.

In striking contrast, six Secretaries of State have been elected President, three have served as Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, and six others were at one time or another major party candidates. Among the remaining Secretaries of State who have distinguished themselves as statesmen of first rank might be named William H. Seward, Daniel Webster, Hamilton Fish, John Hay, Elihu Root, Philander C. Knox, Henry L. Stimson, Cordell Hull, Charles Evans Hughes, and others. Indeed, approximately three-fourths of the forty-nine different men who have held this office have been men of outstanding abilities endowed with the qualifications which are generally associated with the offices of the Secretary of State and of the President.

Little or no reference has been made so far to the inclusion of the Vice President in the discussions of the various presidential succession proposals, regardless of the fact that this office, as it is constituted today, is almost universally recognized as not usually attracting men of national prominence and outstanding ability. Few men announce themselves as candidates

for this office in the pre-party convention campaigns. There have been exceptions, however, but they are not many. The Democratic campaign of 1944 is one of these, due to the state of President Roosevelt's health. To be sure many able men have been nominated and elected to the vice presidency, but, as has been pointed out, they were in most instances drafted by their respective parties. Too often election to the vice presidency has meant an abrupt

termination of the man's political career. Indeed a comparatively small percentage of Vice Presidents have ever returned to public life or attained national distinction in politics thereafter.

What, then, our Vice Presidents "shall be" is still a subject which needs clarification and could well be included in the Congressional study of the presidential succession.

Economics as Logomachy and Economics as Science

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PART II

This article attempts to present a classification of the genus "economist." In Part I, three of the main species of economists were treated: the Polemic, the Descriptive and the Theoretical. It remains here to discuss the fourth: the Scientific-Applied Economist. The taxonomic description of each of the five major subgroups of this variety follows:

A. Fact-Finders. Economists in this category are essentially gatherers and compilers of important statistics and economic data. They usually draw limited and reserved conclusions from such data. Professional economists in an agency such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics or the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce would fall into this class. Some of the Brookings Institution's economists and some of the economists of various private research agencies such as the National Bureau of Economic Research and the National Industrial Conference Board also fall into this category. The greatest part of governmental economic literature naturally fits into this division, an outstanding example of which would be the published monographs of the TNEC. A large number of periodical organs published under both governmental and private auspices are staffed essentially by fact-finding economists.

B. The Analytic - Methodological - Synthetic Economist. It is unfortunate that one has to choose a hyphenated and formidable term like this to describe what we have in mind, but

paradoxically enough, it will serve as the tersest label for the cluster of complex scientific abilities and the marked scientific temper we now wish to describe. There are naturally few economists who fit into this group but they are the most fruitful members of the genus "economist." They are conspicuous by the following:

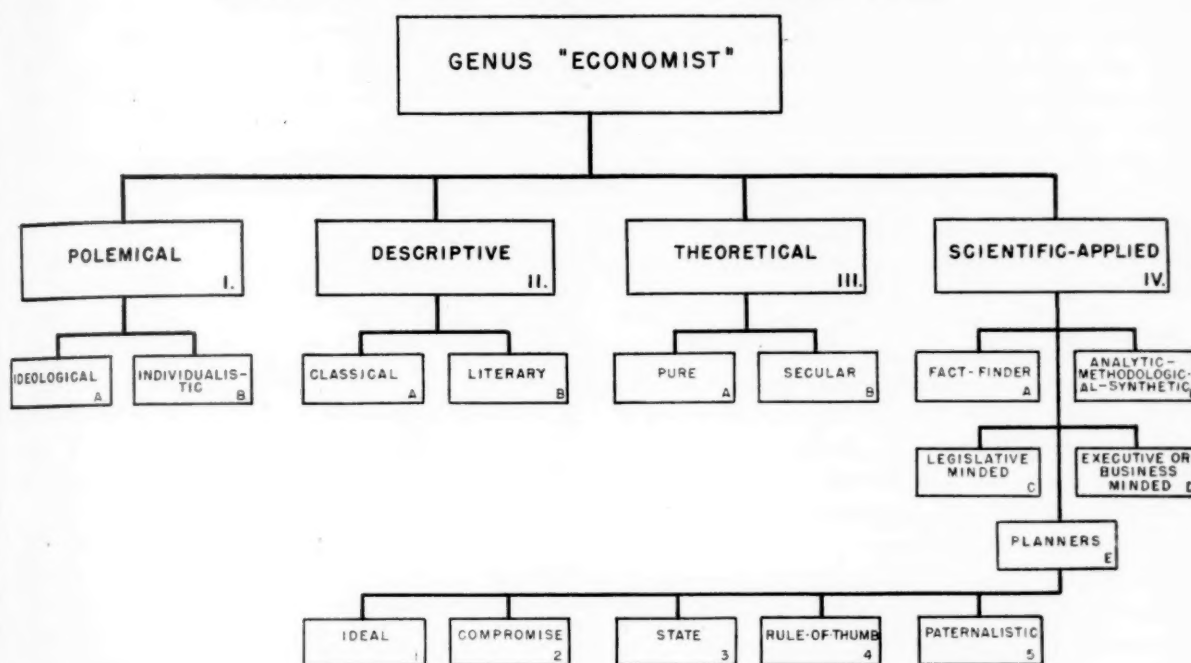
(1) They are well-trained in mathematics and statistics and familiar with a wide variety of economic data, but they never lose sight of the fact that mathematics and statistics are only handmaidens to social discovery and description and that economic data are at bottom grist for the mill of analysis, in order to discover the prevailing economic equilibria which are pivotal to the making of constructive suggestions for economic planning and control in the direction of welfare objectives.

(2) They tend to possess what Lancelot Hogben has described as the bio-technological point of view which is to say they take the viewpoint of a biologist that economic institutions and arrangements should serve the life-processes.¹² Their stress is therefore on physical economics and they view the phenomena of production, distribution, consumption, investment and capital-formation as essentially the catabolic and anabolic phases of the metabolism of the socio-economic organism and that what men do or fail to do reveals the balance sheet of society as clearly as the biologist's researches reveal a balance sheet in na-

¹² Lancelot Hogben, *Retreat from Reason* (New York: Random House, 1938).

FIGURE I

A TAXONOMIC DIVISION OF ECONOMISTS BASED ON THEIR SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIAL UTILITY



ture.¹³ They insist that a rational and socially useful science of economics cannot dispense with the ecological viewpoint.

(3) They share with the technocrats the viewpoint that the stress on the price system of economic analysis constitutes a misplaced emphasis since the conventional failure to satisfy the activities and demands of price-minded sellers results in a cessation of economic metabolism, which is not to be tolerated.

(4) The analytic-methodological-synthetic economists typically choose for research large-scale inquiries of prime social importance, either nationally or internationally, and apply to the most painstakingly gathered and carefully assorted data extremely careful, original, mathematical analysis in order to obtain conclusions which may guide or prompt large-scale social and political action directed towards a welfare economy. In undertaking such research they are also very fertile in the institution of original and useful statistical devices and measures.

One of the most progressive and talented

workers in this field is Colin Clark. In two brilliant volumes¹⁴ he has tried to describe the phenomenon of production in three phases: primary production (agriculture, forestry, fishing); secondary production (mining and manufacturing); and tertiary production (all services). He has studied the relations between the three modes of production from the ecological viewpoint of physical economics. Both actual and potential capacity of all areas and countries throughout the globe, to meet Sir John Orr's consumption standard, has been carefully studied. National income, expressed as average purchasing power in terms of physical commodities and services, has been studied throughout the globe. The factors of capital-formation and the factors determining the role of investment, and thereby expansions and changes in the pattern of production over the planet, have been subjected to careful scrutiny. In short, both mathematically and factually the concept of the "economy of abundance" and the widely-acceptable myth of the "Age of Plenty" have been subjected to

¹³ For an ecological viewpoint which might well be applied to biology see Alfred Lotka, *Elements of Physical Biology* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1925).

¹⁴ Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940); Colin Clark, *The Economics of 1960* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942).

analytic surgery and it has been found that only in the United States are these aims realizable.

Finally, in his volume on *The Economics of 1960* Colin Clark, on the basis of careful mathematical analysis of the best available data, has attempted to forecast the economic problems, processes and phenomena of production, distribution, consumption, income distribution and capital-formation throughout the globe between 1945 and 1960, using very careful curve-fitting methods and conservative extrapolation technique. The scope, care, brilliance and thoroughness with which the economic organism is studied, dissected and prescribed for, much as a biologist or physician would undertake a complete biological study of an organism, will leave the reader who has learned to appreciate a sound scientific approach very much impressed.

There are other distinguished economists of the synthetic-methodological-applied variety who have done notable work, of whom only brief mention can be made. There is Paul H. Douglas who has discovered a mathematical function connecting production, labor and capital and who, together with members of his school, has written a series of papers over the years, verifying this function empirically in all sorts of ways.¹⁵

For a beautiful example of this type of research applied on a local scale we have the work of Borge Barfod which attempts to give a statistical description of the economic weight with which, from the viewpoint of income and employment, a certain industrial undertaking enters into the economy of a town, a part of a country or a country. This was done by studying the relationship of the firm of Aarhus Oliefabrik A/S to the city of Aarhus, Denmark, including its more important suburbs.¹⁶

In this terrain also lies the work of Montgomery Anderson which undertakes to develop a dynamic theory of wealth distribution which can claim to be so completely expressed in

terms of rates of change with respect to time as to comprehend economic forces in motion within their logic. Anderson, under the influence of Marshall, made every effort to achieve the rigorous logic of mathematics and at the same time to make a reasonably good, statistical verification of his conclusions.¹⁷

Difficult and complete, and of first-rate scientific quality is the work of Professor Charles F. Roos on the interrelationship of demand, production and prices.¹⁸ It is a *magnum opus* in the synthetic-methodological-applied field. Finally the reader will probably also be interested in L. E. Widmark's curious, little known work which asks the question whether modern industrial enterprise is mathematically possible *in the long run* and attempts to answer that question in a careful, quantitative fashion.¹⁹

These are but a small sample of the literature in this variety of "pure economics." There are many contributions of greater importance than some of those touched upon, which have not been mentioned at all. Those considered here are meant only to give the newcomer to economics a qualitative conception of what constitutes one of the more scientific areas of economic thought.

C. The Legislative-Minded Economist. In a sense, no practical economist can afford to be uninterested in the most appropriate legislation which will bring into being those institutional arrangements for realizing the benefits and welfare forecasts of economic analysis. Some economists specialize, however, in devoting their thinking to drawing up legislation based upon the researches of economists in Groups III (b) and IV (a) and (d) and working with lobbies and civic-minded groups in pushing such legislation. Essentially these economists are liaison men and moderators between research men and legislative bodies. Thus economists who specialize in the development of social security legislation fall into this group. Their efforts are unquestionably constructive in that they help in the gestation of

¹⁵ For a complete bibliography of Douglas' writings of the last decade see Louis Wirth, *Eleven Twenty-Six; A Decade of Social Science Research* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940).

¹⁶ Borge Barfod, *Local Economic Effects of a Large-Scale Industrial Undertaking* (Copenhagen, E. Munksgaard, 1938).

¹⁷ Montgomery D. Anderson, *Dynamic Theory of Wealth Distribution* (Gainesville, Florida: The University of Florida Press, 1938).

¹⁸ Charles Frederick Roos, *Dynamic Economics* (Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, 1934).

¹⁹ Lawrence Emil Widmark, *An Inquiry Into the Functioning of an Industrial Autarchy* (New York: Albert Bonnier Publishing House, 1934).

new social institutions. On the pure research side, however, they have a relatively negligible role. Thus the intelligent layman who becomes aware of conflicting blocs within this group, each seeking to advance its own brand of legislation, gets the erroneous impression that economists are not so much concerned with truth, the common welfare or the scientific temper as with pleading special causes and special cases.

D. *The Executive or Business-Minded Economist.* These economists make up the large class of industrial advisers and consultants who accept the economic status quo. They are primarily concerned with a more technical, economic management of industry or with industry-wide planning. They are price-minded and profits-minded in relation to their industry. Their foci of attention are likely to be production analyses, capacity utilization studies, cost studies, marketing surveys, changes in the consumption-pattern of the products of a given industry, the effects of changes in corporate structure on investment returns and kindred matters. They are factual and analytic, but professionally speaking, they have no interest in the overall functioning of an economy, either theoretical or applied. Prime attention is consumed on ways and means of maximizing their company's revenue, both absolutely and relatively, in respect to competitors. They are the research sidekicks of the production men of Burnham's *Managerial Revolution*.

E. *Planners.* Within the scientific-applied group and of greatest social significance are those thinkers who have contributed to the literature of planning over approximately the last fifteen years. Economists in this category exhibit some of the characteristics of Group III economists. It is much more likely, however, that they will be found to possess characteristics of workers in Group IV (d) 1 and 3, and more rarely, 2. Their fundamental interest is in outlining and elaborating blueprints for the solution of socio-economic problems, where the promulgated plans embody novel institutional devices for controlling socially important economic equilibria, rather than suggestions for new types of social legislation. Planners may be further subdivided into:

(1) "Ideal" Planners. These are not neces-

sarily generalizing "Utopians," to borrow a phrase from Patrick Geddes. They are individuals who recognize the necessity for planning within or without the framework of capitalism, but who are apolitical and construct perfectly realizable economic plans which do not consider the opposition that normally flows from the non-technical, non-institutional vagaries of socio-economic groups in action. In other words the regional realities of Work, Place and People may often be overlooked in this type of planning. "Ideal" planners assume an intelligent, non-partisan, unselfish community whose social psychology has little in common with that of functioning groups today. Some prominent economic-minded sociologists also show this planning tendency clearly.²⁰

(2) "Compromise" Planners. These are advocates of the status quo who believe in extremely limited planning objectives, the limitations to be set by public and group readiness for the change. They bow easily to local political pressures. Their advocated tinkering is intended most often to be small-scale only, consisting of planning for a city, county or state. Occasionally they compromise with the economic tide and suggest planning on an industry-wide basis, which was a policy advocated by Gerard Swope in the early thirties.²¹

(3) "State" Planners. Economists in this group are strongly cognizant of mass psychological inertia and mass intellectual confusion, but do what they can to eliminate these as much as possible, by every sort of educational device. They devote intelligence and analysis to formulating plans for State objectives which are ideologically determined. In the institutional arrangements which they propose, there is little preoccupation with political freedom. Political freedom is taken for granted by "paternalistic" planners in a democratic state. It is not even assumed in the thinking of "state" planners. The autarchic planning of this group

²⁰ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, 1936); Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, 1940); Karl Mannheim, *Diagnosis of our Time* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, 1943); Pitirim Sorokin, *The Crisis of Our Age* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, 1941); Pitirim Sorokin, *Man and Society in Calamity* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, 1942).

²¹ Gerard Swope, *The Swope Plan* (New York: The Business Bourse, 1931).

gives the military (Nazi), corporative (Fascist) and class-centered, eschatological (Communist) varieties of the planned economy. All "State" planning is ideological and therefore monolithic.

4. Rule-of-Thumbers. These are planners by courtesy only. They constitute the policy-makers of governmental instrumentalities. Although the trend points to more scientific and responsible economics-centered research to guide public agencies, the characteristic role of agency-planners in the past and of law-making bodies that have been concerned with limited planning programs, has been to indulge in makeshift methods of meeting a problem, without accurate research guidance. Such policy-makers are sensitive to political currents only. They differ from "compromise" planners in that compromise planners, though also highly susceptible to local political pressure, reinforce their decisions to some extent by economic research interpreted in a conservative spirit. Rule-of-thumbers are also concerned with limited objectives, and not necessarily welfare objectives, and rarely make any effort to determine the consequences of policies they have inaugurated or decisions they have made. Since they are becoming extinct as a breed, except perhaps, in municipal and county planning, we need not consider them further.

5. "Paternalistic" Planners. Economists in this group represent a sort of Hegelian synthesis of the "ideal" and "state" planners. Like both groups, their thinking is large-scale in nature. They are unlike the "ideal" planners in that they wish to give a measure of consideration to mass psychology and mass readiness for social experimentation. Unlike these, however, they feel that planners should not bow to social inertia but try strongly to modify it, in which respect they are more like State planners. They are unlike the State planners, however, in their avoidance of doctrinaire objectives prior to the analysis of community needs. On the whole it may be said that they wish to achieve socially reasonable, non-political, non-ideological, large-scale objectives, without catering to mass misunderstanding and pressure. Their great weakness is their single-minded advocacy of planning, without too much trepidation over the possible losses in political freedom which might result from some pro-

posals. It is to this group that Professor Hayek²² applies his strictures in his recent book. The P.E.P.²³ group in Great Britain are a bloc of planners who may be said to be paternalistic in nature.

However, the theoretical quantitative and the empirical quantitative approach, if present at all, is likely to be found in this group and that of the "State" planners. There is a voluminous literature on planning in general and in the footnotes below are given a random selection of some of the better thinking on planning of the "paternalistic" variety.²⁴ Paternalistic planners are definitely oriented towards physical economics and towards welfare objectives and as a result are likely to be congenial towards research of the analytic-methodological-synthetic variety. "Paternalistic" planning tends to lead in the direction of advocacy of the "mixed" or "controlled" economy of which the "compensatory" economy (public works reinforcing private enterprise) is one variety.

All of the foregoing suggests that the really scientific portions of economic science are to be found primarily in Group III and Group IV (b), (c) and (e), 3 and 4. The "hard core" of the science, as such, apart from its welfare applications, lies in Group III and Group IV (b). The logical and mathematical paraphernalia to do these portions justice is unfortunately beyond the attainments of most intelligent laymen and the methodological sophistication and temper required is even absent from many academic devotees of the physical sciences.

The greatest hope in applying scientific economics to problems of social welfare lies with legislative-minded economists and "paternalistic" planners. So much prejudice has accrued to economics as a discipline, from the

²²Friedrich August von Hayek, *The House to Serfdom* (University of Chicago Press, 1944).

²³See the broadsheet entitled *Planning*, issued by P.E.P. (Political and Economic Planning), London, 1933. See also the various "Reports" issued by this group.

²⁴Findlay MacKenzie, (Editor), *Planned Society, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937); Eugene Staley, *World Economy in Transition* (New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1939); George Barnes Galloway, *Planning for America* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1941); George Barnes Galloway, *Postwar Planning in the United States; an Organization Directory* (New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1942), Volume I; F. Zweig, *The Planning of Free Societies*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1942).

standpoint of the scientific-minded, that I feel, perhaps, to some extent the classification I have used will serve to guide some scholars who have not lost the capacity to change their minds, towards the scientific portions of economics, with resultant benefits to themselves and possibly the community of which they form a part.

I am certain that those readers with a background in mathematics and methodology will find the analytic-methodological-synthetic ter-

rain richly rewarding. If this schema I have used will help newcomers to the science to avoid the initial contact with its anti-rationalistic, anti-empirical portions, its purpose shall have been served. The chief consideration is that the reader who has had the good fortune to be touched by the logico-empirical tradition be prevented from obtaining the erroneous and possibly lasting impression that economics is a highly organized form of metalypsis.

The Place of the High School Civics Teacher in a Democracy

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The high school civics teacher has a unique place in the education of citizens in a democracy.

There are many definitions of democracy and there are many ideas about it. Few nations, communities, or even individuals are completely agreed on just what democracy is. Regardless of what the philosophers or the people decide it is, certain conditions must exist if the way of life decided upon is to live and have its well being.

First, there must be a fundamental, deep, and abiding belief in the way of life which has been called democracy by the community. It must be so strong that the individual is willing and eager to devote a little "free gratis" time, or as William James said, "a little gratuitous exercise every day" in reading something besides the newspapers and the popular magazines; in listening to something on the radio besides "soap operas"; and in participating actively in such organizations as the P.T.A., the labor unions, cooperatives, the Council of Churches, welfare organizations, reform movements, and study clubs. It must be something akin to the old-fashioned religious fervor and feeling—something that is deep inside the individual. If this can be developed—and I believe it is generally agreed that it can—then it is the duty of all teachers, and even parents, preachers and writers, to do their bit. No one has a monopoly on this, and no one should shirk

his responsibility.

Second, the population must be literate. By literate I mean that people should possess the desire to read, as well as the ability to do so intelligently. Karl Marx knew what he was about when he hurled his famous plea: "If people could only read . . ." Our citizens must also possess the ability to write intelligent and forceful letters to governmental officials, to newspapers and to friends telling them about books and articles read, and what the people of the community are thinking and saying. These abilities can be taught. But here again, no particular group of teachers should bear all the responsibility. The English teacher, the science teacher, the history teacher, and even the mathematics teacher, as well as the civics teacher, should be constantly concerned with teaching their pupils how to read intelligently and how to express their ideas and thoughts in a clear and intelligent manner.

In every country there are certain processes, rules, and institutions through which the desires of the people are made known and executed, and within which they all live their political lives. Thus third, the people must thoroughly understand these and know how to use them. In the United States, these processes, rules, and institutions include the ballot, the political parties, the Constitution, the national, state, and local governments with their legislative, executive, and judicial branches, to-

gether with commissions, bureaus, etc. The whole thing is quite complicated, intricate, and highly confusing. Thus it is easy to see how important the high school civics teacher really is. He—and he alone—has the responsibility of initiating the students into the understanding of the workings of the institutions through which they must perpetuate and improve the democratic way of life. For the great majority of

pupils, the high school civics class is their last chance in formal instruction in the institutions of government. This is why the civics teacher has indeed a unique and important place in the education of citizens of a democracy. Because of this, civics teachers should be selected with a great deal more care and thought than school boards and superintendents have exhibited in the past.

A Unit Course Outline in American History

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PART I

History is continuously in the making. Each year's events are an added page to Father Time's already long record. The teaching of American, or for that matter, European, or world history, constitutes an entirely different problem today than it did a hundred or fifty, or twenty-five years ago. First, there is much more history to cover. Second, the perspective is different. It changes with time. What was important fifty years ago may be more or less important today. Third, there are, at present, many more social problems, as well as new fields of human knowledge and interests, that are pressing for recognition in the secondary school curriculum. The problem that consequently presents itself to educators has to do with the emphasis or lack of emphasis which should be given to the various phases of history. It is becoming impossible to include all episodes in the various fields of history in the time allotted for their coverage.

In the re-evaluation of the course content in American history, one must discriminate between what is more and what is less important, from the point of view of individual growth and social aims, as they are today. The unit outlines of American history that appear in this article have been prepared in accord with this philosophy. The course begins with the American Revolution and its causes, rather than with the period of exploration and colonization. The contents of these and the subsequent units that will appear later in this maz-

azine are designed to emphasize those episodes and personalities of American history that contributed to the development of the political, social, and economic thinking in this country. The colonial and exploration periods are introduced only to the extent to which they link European thinking to American growth.

The unit on Pennsylvania history, as well as all the other units, is designed to meet in part the new state requirement, that all secondary schools include a study of the history of the United States and of the history of Pennsylvania. The full requirement in our school is met by adding an additional year of American history, organized on a topical basis. The topics, such as "Organized Labor and Labor Problems," "Business Cycles," "Communication and Transportation," "Money and Banks," "Political Parties," and "Education," are treated historically, as well as in their social, political and economic implications. The whole course is designed to give to the students a historical perspective of past events and their relationship to present-day social and economic problems.

UNIT I—THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (Five to six weeks)

I. *Introduction and Background.* No single event of social importance is ever traceable to one isolated cause. Wars and revolutions particularly, usually have an array of causes responsible for their occurrence. At times these are more distant than the contemporary eye can see. Usually the causes may be so inter-related that it is difficult for even the trained observer of social events to determine the rela-

tive force of each cause contributing to the social upheaval.

For many years after the American Revolution, historians writing about that event, pictured it primarily as a protest against English over-lordism and as an expression of a revolt against taxation without representation. Upon analysis, later historians have found that these two causes by themselves would hardly have brought about the revolt, and that underlying them were other social forces which, moving in time like a rolling mass of snow, gathered weight and momentum to a degree that made the Revolution inevitable.

These social forces began their work even before the landing of the first colonists. They started when people first sought to escape dictatorial rule and religious intolerance. They were born of the spirit that uprooted people from their native soil in search for equality of opportunity and freedom for self-realization. They sprang from the mingling together of peoples of different nationalities and different traditions, but united by common ideals and like aspirations.

But alone, even these forces might have proved insufficient to cause the final break. There were other forces, more tangible and more practical. At the very beginning of the colonial era, the colonies were closely linked to the mother country. It was profitable to be so, both for economic and political reasons. But like a child who, becoming of age, wishes to be independent and to rely upon his own resources, so the colonies in time became of age. The great ocean separating them made this coming of age even more possible. In time, due to the gradual growth in economic wealth, the colonies became less dependent upon England for her protection as well as for her economic support. In time, the economic interests of both, instead of dovetailing into one another, began to rub each other until the sparks from this friction set off the explosion long in preparation.

II. *Specific Understanding to be Derived.* (Two weeks)

- A. An understanding that the friction between England and the Colonies, which ended with the American Revolution, grew out of: (1) the conflicting interests of the economic forces controlling England and

the colonies; (2) the nature and make-up of the American Colonies—the presence of more than just English stock; (3) the nature of the English ruling classes; (4) the nature and make-up of colonial governments and colonial officials appointed by the Crown; (5) the influence of economic and political theorists, such as Locke, Voltaire, Paine, and Jefferson.

B. Pupil Activities.

Read in the textbook the pages covering this topic.

Textbooks — William Guitteau, *History of the United States*; C. A. Beard and W. C. Bagley, *History of the American People*; S. E. Forman, *Advanced American History*.

Answer the following questions in your notebook:

1. What was England's economic policy toward the colonies regarding manufacturing and shipping?
2. List the different national groups that made up the original thirteen colonies. What effect did this have on the general attitude towards England?
3. Why was there friction between the colonial legislatures and the colonial governors?
4. What were the chief industries in the colonies and how did they conflict with industries of England?
5. List and describe the specific actions taken by England which aroused Colonial opposition and helped pave the way for final revolt.

III. *Specific Understandings to be Derived.* (Three weeks)

- A. An understanding and appreciation of the highlights of the American Revolution and of the events that stand out as landmarks in our history.

B. Pupil Activities.

Read in your textbook the following pages covering this topic:

Textbooks—William Guitteau; C. A. Beard and W. C. Bagley; S. E. Forman.

Answer the following questions:

1. Give a brief description of the following episodes and show the part they played in our country's development:

- a. The Boston Tea Party
 - b. The Committees of Correspondence
 - c. The First Continental Congress
 - d. The Second Continental Congress
 - e. The Stamp Act Congress
 - f. The Articles of Confederation
 - g. The "Boston Massacre"
 - h. The Battle of Bunker Hill
 - i. Valley Forge
 - j. French Aid
 - k. The Treaty of Paris—1783
2. Give a brief description of the following persons, indicating their major contributions to American growth and development:
- a. George Washington
 - b. Samuel Adams
 - c. Patrick Henry
 - d. George III
 - e. William Pitt
 - f. John Adams
 - g. Thomas Jefferson
 - h. Benjamin Franklin
 - i. Ethan Allen
 - j. Edmund Burke
 - k. Nathan Hale
 - l. Marquis de Lafayette
 - m. Thomas Paine
- IV. *Home and Library Work.* Write a brief summary of the topics listed below. See index of textbooks for pages.
1. European Background to American Colonization
 2. The Mercantile Theory
 3. The Puritans
 4. The Quakers
 5. The Pilgrims
 6. The French and Indian War
 7. Spain in the New World
 8. Early English Settlements
 9. Local Government in the Colonies
 10. Life in the Colonies just before the Revolution
 11. Financial and Political Difficulties Facing the Colonies
 12. Battle of Saratoga
 13. Relationship with France During the War
 14. Conquering the Northwest
- UNIT 2—PENNSYLVANIA'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (Five weeks)

I. *Introduction and General Background*

The history of any of our states which was one of the original thirteen colonies is endowed with a special kind of glory not present in any other states which came into the Union after the American Revolution. The history of Pennsylvania in particular, is rich in events, men, and ideals that have contributed to the greatness of both the state and the country. The very name of its largest and most important city symbolizes the life philosophy of its founder: brotherly love. Even in this age, such an ideal—people of whatever race, religion or creed living with respect and tolerance for one another—is almost Utopian to contemplate. Yet, this ideal was William Penn's and his Quaker friends' main driving force.

If we go back to the time of the founding of Pennsylvania, we find that it was an age of much intolerance—political, religious, and economic. Even in England, at that time the most democratic and enlightened of the European countries, the state assumed the right to control both the spiritual and also the physical life of every person. The ideal that the individual could worship as he saw fit, that he could participate in governing the social and political group of which he was a part, and that he could aspire to change his social and economic status above that into which he was born, was only slowly beginning to take shape. Even among those who were themselves oppressed for their own beliefs, like the Puritans, the idea of tolerance for another man's thoughts differing from their own, was foreign, as was witnessed by the expulsion of Roger Williams from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. However, even in the midst of this age of intolerance, there were men who felt differently about things of the conscience, who sought to establish communities where men could live unmolested by the dictates of other men. Roger Williams was one of them. William Penn was another.

The Quakers. Following the Protestant Reformation, various religious sects sprang up in Europe, usually centering around the teachings of one man. Many of these sects, although bearing different names, frequently had the same or similar ideals. The Quakers or "Friends" were one of these sects that originated in England about 1649. Their founder was George Fox, born of poor parents, but trained in religion. At

the age of nineteen he forsook all worldly things in order to devote himself to religion. He led the life of a wanderer preaching his faith as he went along, which was freedom to interpret the Bible and to worship God according to one's own conscience, and not according to the dictates of a state Church. Like other religious sects which opposed the Church of England, the Quakers were frequently whipped, fined, and imprisoned.

Among the devout followers of George Fox was William Penn. Although his father, an English admiral, had intended his son to follow the same career, William Penn followed his own conscience. He attached himself to his Quaker friends and began to write and preach along the lines of his faith. On several occasions he was arrested and imprisoned, at one time for seven months. Like his teacher, George Fox, he began to dream of founding a colony in the New World where men could live a simple and clean life, free from strife and war and free to worship God in accord with their own consciences.

The opportunity to realize this dream presented itself after his father died and left him a claim upon the government of £16,000. In 1681 Charles II, in payment for this claim, granted Penn the present site of Pennsylvania, permitting him to set up a colony with the right to establish laws and institutions embodying his beliefs and principles. Thus Pennsylvania was born.

II. Colonial Development. (One week)

A. Using a textbook on American history and one on the history of Pennsylvania, read the pages dealing with the above topic.

B. Answer the following questions:

1. List the different nationalities that attempted settlements in Pennsylvania.
2. List the three dominant nationalities that settled in Pennsylvania after it became a colony under William Penn.
3. Who were the Quakers? Who was their founder?
4. Of what significance was Penn's Holy Experiments in colonial days? What new development did it represent?
5. List and describe briefly the chief means of making a living in Pennsylvania before the American Revolution.

6. Why was Philadelphia called the "Athens of America"?

7. Describe briefly some of Philadelphia's cultural achievements before the Revolution.

8. List some present-day Philadelphia institutions that give evidence of Philadelphia cultural leadership.

III. Pennsylvania's Role in the Revolution. (One week).

A. Using the same textbook material read the pages covering above topic.

B. Answer the following:

1. In what two respects did Pennsylvania stand out in reference to its contributions towards the revolutionary cause?
2. What city served as the Revolutionary capital during the greater part of the Revolution?
3. What lesson can we derive today from the "Spirit of Valley Forge"?
4. List and describe some of the important Revolutionary leaders from Pennsylvania.
5. How was the spirit of democracy and independence reflected in changes made in Pennsylvania government?
6. List the important pre- and post-revolutionary meetings that took place in Philadelphia.

IV. Constitutional Development. (One week)

A. Readings: Follow same procedure as previously.

B. Answer the following questions:

1. What document served as Pennsylvania's first constitution?
2. How was the constitution of Pennsylvania affected by the revolutionary spirit sweeping the country in 1776?
3. Why was the constitution revised again in 1790?
4. Why was Philadelphia influential in affecting national politics between 1790 and 1800?
5. What was the Whiskey Insurrection?
6. How did Pennsylvania line up on the slavery issue?
7. When was our present state constitution adopted? What changes did it bring about?
8. Who is governor of Pennsylvania today?

V. *Pennsylvania's Contributions to American Democracy.* (One week)

A. Read the textbook on the history of Pennsylvania.

B. Answer the following questions:

1. What contributions did Pennsylvania make to transportation during the early 1800's.
2. How did Pennsylvania contribute towards the industrial development of the nation?
3. List some of the important industrial establishments still in existence.
4. What role did Pennsylvania play in westward expansion?
5. What was Pennsylvania's chief contribution in the field of religion?
6. Why do we have free public schools in Pennsylvania? When were the first free schools set up in the states?
7. How many colleges or universities were there in Pennsylvania in 1790?
8. What person was in a large measure responsible for Philadelphia's cultural leadership during the colonial days?
9. List some of the cultural achievements for which Philadelphia was famous during colonial times.
10. List some of the outstanding men of science, art, literature, and sculpture. Discuss them.
11. What Philadelphia shipyard still in operation contributed its share toward victory during the Civil War?
12. List some post-Civil War and present-day important leaders from Pennsylvania in the field of politics.
13. List some of Pennsylvania's chief economic resources.
14. Give a brief review of the development of education in Pennsylvania since 1865.
15. List Pennsylvania's cultural contributions since the Civil War.

VI. *Home and Library Work.*

1. The Work of the Quakers or "Friends" in World War II.
2. The "Glorious Revolution" in England.
3. The Indians of Pennsylvania.
4. Old Landmarks in Pennsylvania.
5. The Founding of the University of Pennsylvania.

6. The First Lending Library in America.

7. Famous Pre-Revolutionary Names in Pennsylvania History.

8. The Peoples of Pennsylvania and their Contributions.

9. Pennsylvania's Outstanding Industries Today.

10. Points of Historic Interest in and around Philadelphia. (Do the same for the state)

11. Colleges and Universities in and about Philadelphia.

12. Make a visit to any place of historic importance and write your impressions of it.

13. Prepare a scrap book on the following:

- a. Colonial Pennsylvania.
- b. Pennsylvania of the 1800's.
- c. Pennsylvania Today.
- d. Leaders of Pennsylvania—Past and Present.
- e. Education in Pennsylvania.

UNIT 3—FUSING DISCORDANT ELEMENTS INTO A UNITED NATION (Six-seven weeks)

I. *Introduction.*

In times of crises, as during floods, earthquakes, and wars, people as a whole work in harmony towards the central goal—successful solution of the problem at hand. Even traditional enemies often forget their differences and work together, at least until the common enemy is vanquished. England after Dunkerque, Russia during the siege of Stalingrad, and the United States after Pearl Harbor are examples of nations united in times of stress and against a common enemy.

In 1775 this country had its first major crisis as a nation. The thirteen colonies, although not a perfect example of a people united, because then as today there were individuals who differed from the majority as well as individuals who placed their own selfish interests above that of the country as a whole, were sufficiently united to bring the Revolution to a successful conclusion. The original crisis was ended, but in its place appeared new differences and new problems, as well as some old differences and old problems, which if unsolved, threatened to throw the thirteen colonies into a crisis as severe as the one that was just ended. The meeting of these differences and problems and their final solution is a tribute to the finer elements that made and is continuing to make this country what it is today.

It is a story of men against men, ideals against ideals, and traditions against traditions, with the finest and noblest, victorious in the end.

II. *Specific Understandings to be Derived.* (Two weeks)

A. An understanding that the period between the end of the war for Independence and the adoption of the Constitution was one of the most critical in the history of our country.

B. An understanding that the thirteen colonies at the end of the Revolution were far from united and that the difficulties which stood in the way of a perfect union were the result of (1) economic, social and political rivalries existing between the thirteen states, and (2) the weakness of the central government.

C. Pupil Activities.

Read in your textbook the pages dealing with the above topic. Textbooks—William Guiteau; C. A. Beard and W. C. Bagley; S. E. Forman.

D. Answer the following questions:

1. What limitations were there to voting in the new state constitutions following the Revolutionary War?
2. What were some of the powers of the newly created state governments?
3. What were some of the early attempts at colonial Union?
4. Look up in a dictionary the difference in meaning between a federation and a confederation.
5. What were the Articles of Confederation?
6. What obstacles stood in the way of their adoption by the states?
7. When were the articles finally adopted?
8. How many delegates was each state allowed to send to the Congress under the Articles of Confederation?
9. How many votes did each state have? How many votes were necessary for a measure to be passed?
10. List the powers Congress had under the Articles of Confederation.
11. What powers did the Congress lack which made the government weak?
12. What powers were reserved to the states which made the dissolution of the Confederation inevitable?

13. What were the chief differences existing between the states that threatened the union?

14. What was the ordinance of 1787? What important contribution did it make regarding the formation and admission of new states into the union?

15. What were some of the forces which worked *for* and *against* a strong union?

16. What was Shays' rebellion? Of what significance was it?

III. *Specific Understandings and Appreciations to be Derived.* (Two weeks)

A. An understanding of the different economic, social, and political forces that helped shape our constitution.

B. An appreciation of the difficulty of the task that faced the framers of the Constitution and the wisdom with which some of the problems were met.

C. Pupil Activities.

Read in your textbook the pages dealing with the above topic. Textbooks—William Guiteau; Charles Beard and W. C. Bagley; S. E. Forman.

D. Answer the following questions:

1. Describe briefly the events leading up to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.
2. When and where was the Convention held?
3. What plans of union were proposed? Describe each.
4. Describe briefly the main points about the following problems confronting the convention and show how they were settled:
 - a. Problem of small and large states.
 - b. Problem of representation of Negroes.
 - c. Conflict between agrarian and mercantile interests.
 - d. Property and other qualifications for voting.
5. Why were some of the states opposed to a strong federal government?
6. What were the chief arguments used by those who opposed adoption of the Constitution?
7. Who were some of the outstanding leaders in this camp?
8. What were the chief arguments for the

Constitution?

9. Who were some of the leading supporters in this camp?
10. What was the "Federalist?" Who were supposed to be its authors?
11. How many states had to ratify the Constitution before it could take effect?
12. What method was used by the states for ratification of the Constitution?
13. What year did the first Congress meet?
14. What were Alexander Hamilton's views on popular government?

IV. *Specific Understanding and Appreciation to be Derived.* (Two to three weeks)

- A. An understanding of the Constitutional provisions for the organization of the different branches of the federal government: Executive, Legislative, and Judicial.
- B. An appreciation of the fact that the American Constitution is a living body of principles that can be changed in accordance with the will of the people.
- C. A knowledge and understanding of the changes (amendments) made in the Constitution since its adoption.
- D. An understanding of the forces, social, economic, political, and personal, that are continuously pressing for constitutional changes.
- E. An understanding and appreciation of the importance of Judicial Review.
- F. Pupil Activities.

Read the Constitution of the United States (see Appendix of textbooks)

Answer the following questions:

1. What is a Constitution? What is its purpose?
2. List the aims of the United States Constitution (Preamble).
3. What amendments are considered as the Bill of Rights? List them.
4. What division of the government does the Constitution provide? (Art. I, II, III, Secs. 1)
5. What powers are delegated to the States? What powers are delegated to the federal government? (Art. I, Sec. 8, 9, 10, Tenth Amendment, Art. IV)
6. What is meant by the system of checks and balances?
7. What appointive powers does the Sen-

ate have? (Art. III, Sec. 2)

8. Who has the power to make treaties? (Art. III, Sec. 2)
9. What legislative powers does the President have?
10. What does the Constitution say about suffrage or the right to vote? (Art. I, Sec. 2 Fifteenth amendment Sec. 1, Nineteenth Amendment)
11. What are the powers of Congress? (Art. I, Sec. 7)
12. How does a bill become a law? (Art. I, Sec. 7)
13. What are the qualifications of a Senator? (Art. I, Sec. 2)
14. What are the qualifications of a Representative? (Art. I, Sec. 2)
15. What are the qualifications of the President? (Art. II, Sec. 1)
16. How are Representatives elected?
17. How are Senators elected? (Seventeenth amendment)
18. How is the President elected? (Art. II, Sec. 1 and the Twelfth amendment)
19. How can the Constitution be changed or amended? (Art. V)
20. Under what President did the Supreme Court start its function as the "watch dog" of the Constitution?
21. What does the Constitution say about the following:
 - a. Third term
 - b. Political parties
 - c. The number of Justices on the Supreme Court
22. What is a pocket veto? (Art. I, Sec. 7)
23. What is the Interstate Commerce Clause of the Constitution?

V. *Home and Library Work.*

1. Draw a map showing each one of the original thirteen colonies. Include the area covered by the Northwest territory. (Time: End of the Revolutionary War)
2. Write a brief summary on several or all the following topics:
 - a. State Constitutions of the Revolutionary period
 - b. Suffrage in the Colonies before and after the Revolutionary War
 - c. Recreation in the Colonies—to 1800
 - d. Commerce and Travel in the Colonies—to 1800

- e. Education and Social Life—to 1800
3. Look up in your textbooks the following topics and write a brief summary of them:
 - a. Andrew Jackson and the Supreme Court
 - b. John Marshall and the Supreme Court
 - d. Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Supreme Court.
4. Write a summary of the first ten Amendments.
5. Give the main provisions of Amendments

Twelve to Twenty.

6. Give a brief summary of the life of the following justices of the Supreme Court:
 - a. John Jay
 - b. John Marshall
 - c. Oliver Wendel Holmes
 - d. Louis D. Brandeis
 - e. William H. Taft
 - f. Charles E. Hughes
 - g. Harlan F. Stone

(Part II will appear in the next issue of THE SOCIAL STUDIES.)

Doubts Concerning the "Great Movements" Theory of Historical Interpretation

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There appears to be general agreement among educators and other thinking people that history has important values for those who engage in its study. With this attitude the writer feels no occasion to dissent. He would in fact indicate as his own belief that history holds potential values for society that are roughly equivalent to those of personal memory for the individual. With others, however, conclusions vary from the cynical, "We learn only from history, that we learn nothing at all from history," to the more hopeful, "History is a prophet which looks backward." Charles Beard has recently been quoted as saying he has learned the following lessons from history: "1. When it gets darkest, the stars come out. 2. When a bee steals from a flower it also fertilizes it. 3. Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad with power. 4. Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small."¹

In the matter of determining the dominant forces producing historical trends or epochs there is just as little agreement. Some have held that history is no more than the eschatology of the past. Divine influences, the viewpoint asserts, unerringly direct the courses of nations toward ends and under conditions not subject to human analysis. Events, it is considered, may indeed represent conditions of

conflict between Creator and supernatural forces of evil. In the end, however, God wins.

Spengler, in his *Untergang des Abendlandes*, contended that the story of mankind was one of the cycles of rise, fruiting, and decline of cultures. The new and vigorous cultures, he believed, had always risen, and so probably would continue to rise, to the west of previous cultures. Cultures in his opinion were comparable to organisms which pass through stages of birth, development, decline, and death.

Karl Marx proved extraordinarily stimulating to historical speculation with his economic interpretation of history, an interpretation which made economic forces the dominant ones in history.² Such a view would hold that social institutions and prevailing moral sentiments are based upon economic factors.

More recently, in the special field of United States history the frontier approach has attracted much favorable attention.³ The general position taken is, that what is peculiar to the culture of this country has been the product of contact by peoples of European culture with things and conditions at the American frontier.

Among other problems within the province of the philosophy of history is that of the role of leaders in determining the courses of events.

¹ Karl Marx, Introduction to *Critique of Political Economy*.

² Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).

³ Phi Delta Kappan (January, 1946), p. 129.

Do leaders dominate and direct events, or are they, themselves, the products of the times and forces amidst which they live? If not their particular leadership, would the times surely cast up other leaders who would move in the same direction? Is leadership, therefore, an illusion, with leaders only the mouthpieces, the symbols for the desires and purposes of the group? Those who are committed to the "great movements" theory find no difficulty in answering these questions with what to the writer seems a rather disturbing finality. A history teacher of the writer's acquaintance uses the analogy of whitecaps on ocean waves. "One might," he says, "undertake the study of a very large whitecap on the assumption that it was leading other lesser waves. He would discover that instead of leading, the whitecap was the product of forces common to all the waves."

It is with respect to the position taken by those who believe in great movements in history that the writer is particularly skeptical. He believes that although the theory *contains* truth, it is by no means the *whole* truth. Analogies unfortunately do not prove, although the attempt is sometimes made to use them as proof. There is as yet no considerable body of evidence known to the writer to the effect that the individual is to society as waves are to currents and to wind. He thinks, in fact, that investigation might reveal substantial evidence to the contrary.

What is there, let it be inquired, to support the belief that great movements exclusively, and not leadership, account for what happens in history? In answer to this question it is suggested that great material or social inventions have often appeared in two or more places at about the same time. When there exists the need strongly felt by many, the response to the need is likely to appear simultaneously in regions far removed from each other and without communication or knowledge of each other on the part of the inventors. The foregoing seems true, but not always true. Some inventions seem to have been the products of single minds. In other cases inventions have appeared and were not made use of until contrived by someone else at a much later time. The world long needed improved fireplaces but had few until the time of Benjamin Franklin. Inventors have sometimes lacked the imagina-

tion, means of publicity, or self confidence necessary to secure the acceptance of their ideas. Someone else, more vigorous in advocacy or acting under more favorable conditions, realizes success.

Somewhat more difficult to answer is the assertion that in certain fields, for example those of educational and political philosophies, there are no new ideas. Thinkers, it is said, face the disconcerting fact that sometime in the past, some obscure person, perhaps, has thought their latest thought before. If this be true, it is possible at least for leadership to secure acceptance of ideas before being merely contemplated, but not acted upon by society. It seems probable that something like this may constantly be seen in the realm of religion. There, it is a question of finding leadership able to secure acquiescence and active participation in the already-known right religious values.

What reason is there for believing that leaders do play a major role in determining the course of national or world events? It is a frequent assertion among historians, and one that is acceptable to the writer, that the materials of history are of the same sort as those observable in the lives of individuals and of smaller groups, but "writ large." Now it is a fact quite easily ascertained that with individuals and smaller groups, leadership does play a conspicuous role. The writer has frequently remarked that almost everything he has done since the age of eighteen was determined by the fact that one man rented a farm from another in Nebraska before the writer's birth. Neither of the men were kin of the writer's. The chain of incidents, did space permit them to be related, would be adjudged by the reader unmistakable, and would throw into bold relief the functioning of leadership.

Is it not perfectly obvious that churches, colleges, clubs, and business corporations sometimes decline under one leader, but respond immediately to new, superior leadership? At what point do social aggregations reach such size that functioning of leaders is eclipsed? Does not modern communication make it possible for leaders to exert influence over increased numbers of persons? Are the often-mentioned achievements of modern propaganda and of advertising simply illusions? Can per-

sons, as a consequence of leadership, be induced to exert themselves more or less in a present direction or altogether in a new direction? To the present writer it appears that those who answer in the negative have assumed the burden of proof—a burden which is greater than can be borne. Society, both historically and contemporaneously, assumes, apparently, that leadership is of *much* importance. Will it be argued that in this matter the mass of mankind has no capacity to judge?

An advantage enjoyed by very large business organizations is their financial ability to employ the highest class of executive leadership. Such leadership functions with as much or with more efficiency in a large business as in a small one, but only the large firms are able to bid the salaries necessary, so limited is this human factor in amount.

A recent news item relates the placing of a sign-board in the midst of the rubble of one of Germany's most bombed cities which bore the statement from a speech of Adolph Hitler: "Give me ten years and you will not recognize Germany." Seldom have such potent leaders been seen as those of the recent past. Mussolini arousing Italians to their most arduous exertions in generations; Hitler and the Nazis transforming Germany into seething fury and hatred; Russia's Stalin stirring the slumbering might of the Russians to unheard-of resistance; Winston Churchill in Great Britain's darkest hour refusing to acknowledge defeat; Franklin Roosevelt, four times the choice of American people for President—all are tangi-

ble exhibitions of leadership and its potentialities.

Almost no one, probably, doubts the effect of man's physical environment upon him. Students of social phenomena have for long observed in addition, however, the fact that man modifies his environment. Many geographers once talked of geographical determinism. One hears little now of such views. There seems to be too much evidence for the other side of the question. Man has a social environment as well as a physical one. Shall we assert that he is able to modify the latter but not the former? Is there a valid theory of social determinism though rather conclusively none for geographical?

A comment of the late Doctor Alexis Carrel provides light not only for the subject under discussion, but for many others as well.⁴ The statements of generalities that exist in men's minds, he indicates, exist nowhere else. To suppose that leadership completely dominates human situations would surely be to infer a hasty and unjustified conclusion. To assume, on the other hand, that leadership actually is an illusion and the social environment everything is to err in the opposite direction. A much more justified conclusion is to the effect that *both* leadership and social environment are large contributors to the trend of human events, but that neither acts alone. To state the matter briefly, it is probably not a case of "either-or," but of "both-and."

⁴ Alexis Carrel, *Man, the Unknown* (New York: Halcyon House, 1938), Chapter, "The Science of Man," and elsewhere.

Some Trends in Consumer Installment Finance

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Current discussions of postwar opportunities in consumer installment credit anticipate considerable expansion of the field. The specialized agencies—the sales finance companies, the small loan companies, the industrial banking companies, and credit unions—anticipate vigorous competition from the commercial banks which have shown increasing interest in

exploiting the opportunities in consumer installment finance.

SALES FINANCE COMPANIES

In 1941, pursuant to the requirements of Regulation W for persons engaged in the business of extending installment credit to register, over 3,000 companies doing some sales finance business submitted registration statements.

Of the total of slightly more than two billion dollars of retail installment receivables reported by the companies, only about 100 million dollars was in direct cash loans, the remainder being retail installment paper purchased.

In other words, as far as retail installment credit is concerned, the sales finance companies have specialized in *buying installment paper* from retail merchants instead of *making installment loans* direct to consumers. Sales finance companies in peacetime held about one half of all the retail installment paper outstanding. Perhaps as much as 80 per cent of their total receivables were in the form of automobile paper.

The overwhelming majority of the companies are small local concerns; there are but very few regional or national enterprises. It appears that around two-thirds of total sales finance company volume in the last peacetime year was handled by the three big companies operating on a national scale: Commercial Investment Trust Corporation, Commercial Credit Company, and General Motors Acceptance Corporation.

Sales Finance Company Plans. The large sales finance companies generally have begun reopening offices closed by the war and are planning new branch offices to serve new and smaller communities and to handle a larger territory than they served at the 1941 peak. They are enlarging their staffs as the manpower shortage eases, and their contact men are visiting old clients and prospecting for new ones.

The companies are also employing business engineers to study and develop more efficient operating methods looking to less use of labor in bookkeeping and increased use of machines and equipment to handle bills, notices, and other credit, accounting, and collection operations. Along with effecting economies in operation, the national sales finance companies are preparing to offer new low rates and new financing plans.

To consumers, they may stress the convenience of the "package buying" provided in their usual method of operation; that is to say, the consumer who finds the automobile or other article he wants at a dealer's place of business can immediately purchase the article,

the insurance required, and the financing all wrapped up in one convenient package. This argument of convenience and of immediate completion of all aspects of a deal may prove to be so strong in the case of many consumers that competitors using less convenient and speedy methods may have to offer lower rates, which they may not be eager to put into effect.

In 1945 Commercial Credit Company made available through the Prudential Insurance Company, group life insurance on the lives of installment buyers whose purchases it finances. In case of the death of the buyer, the remaining unpaid balance is automatically canceled and the property belongs to the purchaser's estate. The company is said to be the first of the sales finance companies to use this form of insurance on a national basis.

To dealers, the companies may stress a policy of taking "run of mine" paper and thereby serving dealers more fully and more satisfactorily than can be done by commercial banks or other competitors who insist upon carefully selecting their risks. The large companies also may license their automobile dealers as agents of their subsidiary insurance companies. Some of the larger companies, as well as many of the smaller ones, undoubtedly will give increased attention to the small loan business.

SMALL LOAN COMPANIES

While the sales finance companies have specialized in the financing of installment sales credit, the small loan companies have concentrated upon the business of consumer installment loan credit. At the end of 1941, there were 5,821 small loan company offices operating in 34 states. Except for the years 1939-1942 and 1945-1946, when the lead was taken by the commercial banks, the consumer installment loan outstandings of small loan companies have exceeded those of any other agency.

Perhaps it should be pointed out here that the term small loan companies is used in this article to refer to those institutions operating under state legislation modeled on the Uniform Small Loan Law, which was evolved a generation ago—before our entrance into World War I. This model law requires the total of all charges made to the borrower to be stated as an inclusive rate of true interest (rather than a miscellany of discounts, fees, investigation charges, fines, penalties, and the like) and, un-

til recently, limited the size of the loans made to not more than \$300.

The Handicap Presented by the \$300 Loan Limit. In 1944 the size of the consumer installment loans made by the leading small loan companies averaged less than one-half as large as those made by commercial banks and industrial banks. The fundamental explanation appears to be found in the facts: (a) that the small loan companies make a very much larger proportion of their loans in the very small sizes (from \$20 up) than do commercial and industrial banks; and (b) that, unlike these banks, which are allowed to make consumer installment loans up to several thousand dollars in size, the small loan companies in most states are still limited by the old legislation prescribing a \$300 maximum.

However, about a dozen states and Canada now have laws of one kind or another permitting loan companies to lend up to as much as \$1,500. Operating under these permissive laws is enabling the small loan companies to achieve a greater number of loans and a larger average loan account, thereby making lower rates to consumers possible.

Some leaders among the small loan companies are now seeking legislative permission in other states (either through amendments to the existing state legislation based on the Uniform Small Loan Law, or through the enactment of new statutes) to make loans above \$300 at reduced rates of charge to borrowers.

These leaders contend that the raising of the maximum permissible size of loan to \$1,000 or \$1,500 (the maximum now permitted commercial banks and industrial banking companies generally ranges from \$2,500 up to no limit whatever) will give them the opportunity to really compete with banks and other agencies, and will enable them to offer lower rates to their consumer-borrowers in the case of both very small loans and larger loans.

It is argued that while the \$300 maximum originally set in the Uniform Small Loan Law a generation ago was adequate at the time, such a low limit is now hopelessly out of date and unrealistic. In those pre-World War I days, the typical consumer who needed to borrow for emergencies, to consolidate past due indebtedness, and for similar purposes could be served by the granting of a very small loan.

The use of installment credit was negligible and charge account indebtedness was not an important factor for the mass of consumers because such credit privileges were not generally extended to the lower income classes. Prices of goods and services generally were only a fraction of what they are today, and consumers were not confronted with the vast array of high priced durable goods which characterizes modern living conditions.

It has been said that a generation ago when the Uniform Small Loan Law was first introduced, the typical consumer's indebtedness, which frequently gave rise to the need for refinancing through a small installment loan, was less than \$100. In the future, as wartime restrictions are removed, undoubtedly a great many consumers sooner or later will find themselves involved in emergencies involving a current indebtedness of a thousand dollars or more.

Small loan company officials also point out that the number of dollars it costs to make a consumer installment loan and to collect the payments is about the same regardless of the size of the loan. When a great many loans of from \$20 to \$100 are made, and when the largest loans are limited to \$300 or less, it is inevitable that the average loan account can be only a very small one. The amount of dollars it is necessary to charge to cover the costs of servicing the average loan may not be large in absolute amount, but when expressed as a percentage of the small average loan account, the resulting rate naturally appears high.

The costs of getting, making, servicing, and collecting a consumer installment loan naturally are not the same for each individual bank or other lender. But one assumed arbitrary figure will do as well as another for the purpose of illustration. For example, if the costs per loan in the case of a particular establishment should average \$1.25 a month, or \$15 a year, they would represent a rate of only five per cent of the average loan balance were \$300 as compared with 15 per cent if the average loan balance were \$100.

Reducing Charges by Increasing Maximum Loan Limits. One of the largest small loan companies is not contenting itself with merely arguing that if maximum loan limits were raised to \$1,000 or \$1,500, the rates of charge

to consumer-borrowers could be and would be reduced. It is already experimenting (according to the St. Louis, Missouri, *Star Times*, of July 16, 1945) in several states where laws now allow the companies to make consumer installment loans up to a \$1,000 maximum.

In five new experimental offices, located in different sections across the country (California, Colorado, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts), the company is now making loans of all sizes from \$20 to \$1,000 at a flat rate of only 1½ per cent per month, which is less than one-half of the charge permitted in the original model Uniform Small Loan Law. Apart from the experimental offices, in other offices wherever the company has developed a volume of the loans above \$300 in size, it has reduced its charges on the smaller ones.

While, the small loan companies realize that, because they make so many very small loans, they cannot meet the lowest rates charged by some of their competitors—just as commercial banks are unable to charge as low a rate on consumer loans as they do on business loans—they expect to offer rates not much higher than those of their leading competitors and to expand their business by rendering a broader and superior service to the lowest income classes.

INDUSTRIAL BANKING COMPANIES

The number of institutions registered under Regulation W as industrial loan companies or industrial banks was 756. Registrants largely determined their own classification, and the figure reported may be an overstatement of the actual number of industrial banking companies, particularly if this type of consumer installment financing agency is narrowly defined.

The institutions in the industrial loan company field, broadly defined, include: those industrial banks and Morris Plan Banks which have converted into regular commercial banks, trust companies, or savings banks under state or national charters, and which continue specializing in consumer installment finance; industrial, or Morris Plan, and similar banking companies not having regular bank charters; industrial loan companies; and other companies operating under state loan and investment acts, discount company legislation, and similar laws.

For all industrial banks, it appears that con-

sumer loans make up on the average about half the total loans and discounts, but the percentages for individual banks range from less than 20 per cent for some of the larger banks to virtually 100 per cent for the smaller institutions. In the majority of industrial banks consumer paper probably comprises from two-thirds to three-fourths of total loans and discounts; in industrial loan companies of non-banking status the proportion is probably higher.

For a number of years there has been a steady trend in conversion to commercial bank status on the part of industrial banks, industrial banking companies, and industrial loan companies. About 125 have already acquired full bank status. Of these 53 are members of the Morris Plan Bankers Association and 61 others are members of the American Industrial Bankers Association.

Reasons for Conversion to Commercial Bank Status. One of the main reasons for conversion to commercial bank status is the conviction that the securing of funds through low cost demand deposits will give institutions an inside track in the highly competitive consumer credit business of the postwar period, whereas those institutions that depend on interest bearing time deposits or on borrowed money will be handicapped. It appears that the invasion of the industrial banking field by commercial banks will continue to be countered by the invasion of commercial banking on the part of the industrial banks.

From 1929 to 1941, the consumer installment loan outstandings of the industrial banking companies grew very slowly as compared with the rapid increase of those of the commercial banks, the small loan companies, and the credit unions. Industrial banking institutions, including those which have achieved commercial bank status as well as the others, regard the commercial banks as their chief competitors.

Some feel that they have been losing business to the commercial banks because the latter have become more aggressive in advertising and in soliciting business. But they believe aggressiveness is a matter of the particular community and of the individuals who operate the competing industrial and commercial banks, and they are convinced that they can effectively meet the competition of the commercial banker

by placing their main reliance upon a better and more understanding handling of human relations.

CREDIT UNIONS

It is estimated that in 1941 the 10,456 credit unions chartered under federal and state laws, with more than three million members, made almost two and one-half million loans totaling 362 million dollars. The average loan made was \$150.

Credit unions are cooperatives which lend the savings of the group to those of its members who need to borrow. Their lending costs are very low because of donated services of managers and office space, tax exemption, and the intimate knowledge of their borrowers' circumstances, which reduces the expense of investigation. Credit unions have grown rapidly since 1934 when the federal government undertook the promotion of federal credit unions.

Since they are cooperative enterprises, the growth of credit unions has depended upon organizing groups of individuals having some common bond, for example, working for a certain firm or being members of the same labor, fraternal, or religious organization. The members usually receive a nominal rate of interest on their savings and they participate in the surplus resulting from profits.

Expansion of Credit Union Activities. Credit unions now make advances for the financing of the purchase of consumers' durables, as well as loans for family emergencies, such as expenses of illness or death, or for consolidations of debts, and so on.

Further expansion in the number of credit unions and in their volume of business is anticipated, and in the years ahead some of these cooperatives may offer additional services to their members. For example, in 1944, the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration granted permission to the credit unions in the Camden, New Jersey, area to organize a Federal Savings and Loan Association. Application for this charter was made by all the credit unions in the area, acting as a unit, to organize

a new institution to engage primarily in the field of home financing.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that at this same time savings and loan institutions in Pennsylvania were preparing to request legislation which would permit them to finance the purchase of radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and other durable goods, thereby entering the consumer installment loan field. Also, savings and loan associations in New York state during the past few years have been seeking legislation to permit them to make consumer installment loans.

SUMMARY

These developments and others indicate the increasing tendency for lending institutions to invade each other's fields, for institutions not in the consumer installment finance field to enter it, and for agencies already in the field to attempt to expand their share of the business. It appears that conditions are developing which will lead to unprecedented competition in the consumer installment credit field within a very few years.

There will be intense competition between the specialized consumer installment finance agencies and the 10,600 commercial banks which are planning to invade the consumer installment credit field on a most ambitious scale. There will also be local competition between individual banks, between individual finance companies, and so on.

One certain result will be a greater variety of financing services, more convenient plans, and lower rates to consumers. Another result which seems probable is lower profits generally for the competing institutions—perhaps the consumer installment credit business was indeed a bonanza in the past, but it is doubtful that it will prove to be a bed of roses in the future. Finally, a possible result may be widespread overloading of people with consumer installment debt if installment sellers and lenders place too much emphasis on expansion of volume and give too little consideration to the long-run interests of the consumer.

Visual and Other Aids

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To individuals interested in the newer phases of audio-visual education, the word "traditional" holds many unpleasant connotations, for we are all familiar with the teacher or administrator who has the pat answer: "We've done very well with our older method." Truly, this is the perfect "pat" answer, for in many cases the "older" method has produced good results. However, so many fail to see beyond that point. The child in the grades could tell us that after "good" comes "better." But educational leaders throughout the country forget this simple fact and are contented with that which is good. To those who fight for what might be better, they reserve their favorite comment of "Radical." While there are radicals in our teaching ranks, there are few who would destroy what has been done before and many would only add to what has produced good results. It is in this word "add," that that audio-visual education must find its cue, for many a classroom teacher is downright suspicious of this mechanical education. And seemingly it is always the replacement angle that causes the greatest concern.

In fighting for what might be termed the rightful place of these mechanical devices, some of the leaders in the field have perhaps, in near desperation, leaned close to the radical fence and have in some instances made reference to the ease with which the human factor of teaching could be removed. Some school systems, as Cleveland for example, have sampled the "master teacher" technique, and it might be said that elements of both success and failure have been found. But emphasis must remain on the use of these mechanical devices as teaching aids rather than as new fangled educational techniques.

A significant note has been sounded in the ranks of the traditionalists in a second change of emphasis. While the main target is still primarily scholastic success, the attention has shifted from the number of pupil failures. The vicious circle has been in operation for many

years. Far too long we have had the chain of reasoning that a good teacher was a strict teacher and that strictness was in direct ratio to high standards—that high standards were indicated by the number of academic failures. Today's tendency is to note the cases of pupil success. As a result of this changing viewpoint, educational leaders are now searching for every conceivable means of furthering the success of the individual pupil. It is in the bustle of this search that the audi-visual aids should find a great opportunity to demonstrate their true value to the American schools.

The newer half, or the audio aids, are in greatest need of justification. Those who have been active in visual education for some years past have been heard to say: "What's all the excitement about? We've had these things for years." Perhaps the Army use of teaching aids has not been so revolutionary, but simply indicative of an increased use in the "audio" phase of this mechanical development. Technical development has been rapid, but here again the radio, phonograph, and central sound system were designed largely for entertainment values. It was some time before an alert industry realized the tremendous possibilities of this new equipment and started immediate utilization in the industrial field. Only a short time ago, radio, for example, was a scientific toy for the entertainment field. Now it has passed even the convenience stage and is regarded as a necessity for the American people. The Joint Committee on Radio Research reported January 1, 1938, that 84 per cent of all the homes in the United States have radios — 27,000,000 families owning 33,000,000 radio sets.

The schools were not far behind industry in the realization that a new avenue of communication had been opened. But unfortunately the school utilization did not develop as rapidly nor as completely as the industrial program.

At this point, one is tempted to remark: "It's a good thing it didn't." For many a question has been raised as to the true educational value

of radio. The voices of the extremists are heard most often—sometimes to the exclusion of the common sense approach. "Is Radio Educational?" is the question asked in an article by I. Keith Tyler, professor of education at Ohio State University. The article points to the high potential value of radio as an educational instrument on an international scale, with the direct limitation of four major obstacles. According to Mr. Tyler, the following four stumbling blocks may prevent the maximum use of radio. First, radio may not be accorded serious recognition as an educational agency by educators themselves. Second, American broadcasting may find the pursuit of profit preventing radio's real dedication to educational enterprises. Third, radio may not be used vigorously because of the traditional fear of propaganda. Fourth, radio may be used for competitive national purposes so as to prevent real understanding among peoples and nations. The supporting arguments for these four points are included in the complete article which appears in the January issue of *Film and Radio Guide*.

Once it is agreed upon that radio does have some educational value, a second problem appears. Just which type of program is most effective for educational purposes? Radio as a medium of communication is not too adaptable to some of the older concepts of teaching procedures. Interest of the listener is a far different thing in a radio-listening situation as contrasted to the standard teacher-pupil relationship. The radio teacher has no way of knowing the degree of interest he has commanded. Consequently, some programs have been far more entertaining than educational, and some have been far, far too dull. The Cleveland School of the Air takes no chance with its own programs, for each program is tested in an actual school situation before it is put on the air.

Two rather complete sets of "Guideposts" have been suggested by the National Committee of Education by Radio.

The first set is the purely educational:

- (1) Does the program have unity? That is, do the parts contribute to a central idea which, in turn, is a logical sector of a program series?
- (2) Is the subject matter selected educationally important?
- (3) Will the program effectively induce a con-

siderable proportion of listeners to explore the subject more completely by reading, by discussion, or other self-educative activity?

- (4) Is there a summary at the close to fix in the listener's mind the major points brought out by the script?
- (5) Is the selection and presentation of the material such that the voluntary interest of the "students" (listeners) will be aroused?

By way of comparison, or perhaps it should be contrast, the second set of Guideposts concern the element of audience interest:

- (1) Listener attention should be caught in the first twenty seconds. Methods: novelty sound, theme music, interest challenging statement or provocative dialogue.
- (2) The first minute of the script should arouse the curiosity of the listener.
- (3) Direct the program to the audience most likely to be listening on the station or stations being used at the time allotted.
- (4) Limitations of listeners, both in terms of vocabulary and experience, should be kept in mind.
- (5) The subject of the broadcast must be potentially interesting to a majority or a reasonably large proportion of listeners reachable at the time and through the outlets available.
- (6) The presentation should include listener participation if it is not more than keeping time to music.
- (7) Visualize scenes and people before beginning action.
- (8) Each voice or sound should be clearly established.
- (9) Each line of dialog should be as short as possible.
- (10) Dialogue must advance the plot or subject matter steadily toward the climax.

Even a quick glance at these Guideposts would indicate that radio is indeed no magic cure-all, and that those of us who expect *all* radio programs to be the "Open Sesame" to the minds of our students, are doomed to disappointment. While there are a few bright spots on the horizon of educational broadcasting in the nature of F.M. transmission and newer developments in instantaneous recording, the

unsolved headaches of radio education are indeed varied and complex. The greatest hope lies in the extent to which educational organizations, committees, federal and state depart-

ments *have, can and must* coordinate activities in order to gain the *maximum* value from one of the greatest driving forces that has ever been an "aid" to education.

News and Comment

LEONARD B. IRWIN

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FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The unsolved problem of providing an adequate education for all American youth is more widely recognized and discussed today than ever before. Equalization of opportunity within states, and among the several states, is the goal of those who realize clearly that our public school system is economically antiquated, and is not accomplishing what we want from it.

The basic difficulty lies in the fact that education is supported locally, and since there is a tremendous variation in taxable wealth among different states and districts, there is a proportionate difference in the quality of education provided. The movement in a number of states to have the schools supported largely by the state treasury instead of by local districts illustrates the trend toward equalization. The analogous movement for Federal aid in order to shorten the gap between rich and poor states has received considerable prominence in recent years, and is still a live issue in Congress.

There are a number of factors involved in Federal aid to the states which do not exist in the case of state aid to local communities. The perennial issue of states' rights, the fear of a too-powerful central government, the racial aspect in the South, and the advisability of further enlarging an already enormous national debt are among the obstacles to ready acceptance of a Federal aid plan. There is also a sharp division of opinion as to whether Federal aid should be extended only to public schools, or should include private and denominational schools as well.

An excellent current summary of the status of the whole question was provided in the February issue of *The Congressional Digest*. It is worth the reading for any person interested in the problem of educational equalization. It contains arguments both for and against Feder-

al aid, as presented by a number of interested persons and groups. It also gives statistical data on present state support to schools and the allotments provided to each state under Senate Bill 181.

DOES THE ARMY NEED REFORMING?

In its issue for February 25, *Life* presented an article by Robert Neville entitled: "What's Wrong With Our Army?" It called attention to a situation which had been commented on by many others. The army is currently engaged in a vast recruiting campaign. Every man being discharged from service is asked to re-enlist. Recruiting officers go among the schools urging 17-year-old seniors to join up after graduation. Posters and advertisements offer the advantages of security, travel, health, and a free college education to those who enlist. Yet, although the material advantages are real enough, the campaign seems foredoomed to failure. While the proportion of re-enlistment among officers is high, it is extremely low among the G. I.'s. The fact seems to be that most enlisted men do not want to be in the army, no matter how many benefits it offers. The demonstrations of protest by G. I.'s abroad were evidence of this.

There is a real problem here, and it needs solution. It appears obvious that we are going to need a large regular army for an indefinite period. That army must be made up either of draftees or volunteers. Military leaders want a system of permanent conscription, because they know that army service, as it is now, cannot attract enough volunteers. The American people, on the other hand, are not likely to support the idea of conscription very long. The government, therefore, will ultimately have to face the fact that, to maintain the large army it undoubtedly needs for world service, it must

make the military profession attractive, especially for enlisted men.

Present inducements will not do it. What is needed is an overhauling of army tradition and policy so that the average young man can enlist without feeling that he has lowered himself socially and morally. According to Mr. Neville and many other commentators, the "caste" system of the army is the feature most bitterly resented. Army policy officially regards the enlisted man as inferior, not only to officers, but even to civilians. Unquestionably, when engaged in combat or in training for it, the soldier must be treated not so much as a human being as a cog in a machine. Although in peacetime, a soldier spends relatively little time in actual drill and maneuvers, army policy requires that under all conditions the enlisted man must be kept in an inferior social status. He is reminded that he is unworthy to associate with his betters, or to have the same comforts and privileges. The army claims this is necessary "to maintain discipline."

This is dubious ground to begin with. History shows that average Americans will not willingly accept any form of employment which brands them as inferior to other Americans. They will obey orders; they are skillful at teamwork; they will do any job well that they like; but they will not voluntarily adopt the stigma of personal inferiority. Until the military authorities recognize this fact and eliminate the Prussian system of military caste, the profession of soldiering will remain, as far as the lower ranks are concerned, the refuge of the ne'er-do-well and the spiritless.

How long it will take the army to make a change, no one knows. The arch-conservatism of "brass hats" in all respects has been a byword for many years, and their freedom from civilian interference approaches the sacrosanct. Fletcher Pratt in the February issue of *Harper's* had a telling article on military and naval censorship policies during the war. He charges that controls went far beyond security needs, and were maintained on the ground that public morale required good news only. Red tape censorship often reached absurd lengths, as when certain subjects, such as radar, were forbidden even to be mentioned by name in the press, although they were freely discussed

in Congress and were perfectly familiar to our enemies. Mr. Pratt pointed out that censorship for "public morale" purposes also had the convenient effect of hiding any embarrassing military errors or shortcomings from public knowledge.

THE 1946 ELECTIONS

1946 is a Congressional election year, and a most important one. It will be our first postwar national election, the first chance for the voters to register their opinions on national postwar policy, the first opportunity for the party leaders to obtain a clear view of public temper. For the first time in over fourteen years, a national election will occur that will not be affected to some extent by the dominating personality and influence of one outstanding figure. By November, 1946, Congress and the Administration will have had fifteen months in which to show their ability to cope with the many grave problems of reconverting from war to peace prosperity. That is not long enough to solve the problems, but it is long enough for the present leaders to show whether they have the capacity and wisdom and fortitude to solve them. On that showing the people may fairly judge and vote accordingly.

The present government has historical precedents for feeling concerned about the election. Most of the old political axioms point to a Republican victory. A change of parties after a war is traditional; the fourteen years of Democratic control represent about the limit of the normal expectancy of one party's power; and the possibilities of a period of business prosperity are more favorable to Republican than Democratic chances, judging by past events. In any case, 1946 is likely to see many important changes in Congress.

Whether these changes will be in the public interest naturally depends on how intelligently the voters select their targets. There are a great many capable, courageous and public-spirited men in both houses; there are also a number who have none of these qualities, if their record is to be the evidence. One of the most useful things some of our national organizations and societies for this-and-that could do before each national election would be to compile and circulate charts showing exactly how each Congressman had voted on every

important bill. With this information at hand, a voter would be in a position to act intelligently.

The New Republic in its issue for February 11 contained a special 30-page section including such a chart. Even though it recorded Congressional votes as good or bad, depending on the opinion of the magazine's editors, it was nevertheless a useful record. Wide circulation in early fall of a booklet listing objectively the nature of all important bills and the votes of each legislator on them would be a great public service. Perhaps one of the large national advertisers would find it a worth-while project.

PARENTS AND THE SCHOOL

An article by Elbert Fulkerson in *Educational Forum* for January discussed what the writer called an "activity program for parents." In it he mentioned a few of the things which parents can do to help the school educate their children. They are familiar things that have been preached a thousand times, yet every teacher and principal knows that they are left undone in too many homes. The fundamental duty of seeing that the child is regularly in school is one of the most obvious parental responsibilities and yet one of the most neglected. Fifteen children out of every hundred enrolled in school in the United States are absent each day. Part of this absentee record is due to illness and other legitimate causes, but much of it could be avoided by parental firmness.

Truancy can hardly occur in families where the parents check on their children's daily work and assignments. Feigned illness is a childhood stratagem that is frequently successful where parents are too doting or too preoccupied with other things to take the trouble to be sceptical. Worst of all, perhaps, are those parents who keep a child out of school for trivial domestic affairs, and then certify to the school that the child was ill. The amount of parental dishonesty and indifference that any school can testify to is appalling.

Mr. Fulkerson adds to his list of parental duties such things as the provision of good home study conditions, adequate reference books, and a conscientious determination to see that home work is done. The maintenance of good examples of conduct, speech and moral standards at home is another type of parental

activity which is all too often neglected. The ever-growing need for closer cooperation between home and school is widely recognized. There is hardly a parent who will not admit the correctness of this list of his duties; there is, on the other hand, a vast number who feel that they are raising *their* children properly, and such articles as Mr. Fulkerson's are really addressed to the people next door. These parents are socially dangerous, for their children are apt to bear the surface features of good breeding without possessing the foundation of solid character training.

THE POLL TAX

Every time a demagogue arises in Congress and makes evident to the world his mental limitations and native incapacity as a representative of the American people, we ask ourselves ruefully: How can it be that when only 500 are to be selected from 140,000,000, such men as this are chosen? Very often the answer is clear. It is only necessary to remember that in a number of states the vast majority of adult citizens cannot vote. They cannot vote because the election laws are so constructed that voting is the privilege of those who take a very personal interest in the outcome. The product of these tight little oligarchies is a brand of statesman who often rates high in party politics but extremely low in ability, vision and national interest. Occasionally they produce an outstanding man, for which the rest of the nation is duly grateful, but too often these representatives are to be suffered rather than admired.

Such a condition is a matter of national concern, for these duly elected legislators have power to make laws for the whole country, or to block legislation which the great majority of Americans want. Their power is actually often greater than their numerical strength indicates. Not only do they vote and act solidly as a unit on most questions, but they hold the chairmanships of about half the Congressional committees, though they represent only thirteen states. Since there is comparatively little competition in these "pocket borough" states, their representatives are re-elected for long periods and so acquire seniority rights upon which chairmanships are based.

Strong efforts have been made, so far unsuccessfully, to pass Federal legislation to rem-

edy these conditions. Attempts to outlaw the poll tax have been thwarted by the bloc which benefits from it. While the poll tax is not the only means used to limit voting—intricate registration laws and unfair literacy tests are likewise useful—it is the most easily attacked. It is obviously not a revenue-raising matter, since only a comparatively few citizens pay it. It exists solely as a means to restrict the ballot to the middle and upper class, and to maintain the dominance of one party and its leaders. That those disfranchised by the poll tax include nearly all the Negro population is an incidental virtue in the eyes of its supporters.

Since the whole nation is directly affected by these conditions, the facts should be clearly understood by all citizens. Last November 6, for example, a radio debate on Federal abolition of the poll tax was held between Congressman DeLacy of Washington and Edward Hebert of Louisiana. It has been condensed and printed in the January issue of *Talks*, published by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This debate illustrates clearly the relative merits of the positions. Supporters of Federal action, such as Mr. DeLacy, point to the harm the whole nation suffers as a result of undemocratic procedures in one section; their point-of-view is national.

Opponents of Federal legislation use two types of argument. The more candid and demagogic support the position as recently stated by State Representative Calhoun Thomas of South Carolina, who said: "If we make it too easy for the Negro to vote, we are going to have a two-party system. We have got to keep the Democratic Party all-powerful." The more cautious and tactful, such as Mr. Hebert, plead the sanctity of states' rights against Federal dictatorship—though the same abhorrence of things Federal does not seem to extend to Federal grants, cotton subsidies and similar benefits. In either case, the basic defense is a narrow and sectional one, seeking to perpetuate an archaic, undemocratic and harmful condition for selfish purposes. Whether it be a racial diatribe by Messrs. Bilbo or Rankin, or an exposition of the principles of John C. Calhoun by Mr. Hebert, the position is equally unsound.

There are, of course, many progressive Southerners who admit and deplore local elec-

tion evils. Recently, for example a committee of Southern editors and writers put out an excellent pamphlet called *Voting Restrictions in the Thirteen Southern States*, which showed exactly how voting is limited in each of these states. It is earnestly to be hoped that more Southerners will recognize the need for local modernization.

NOTES

In the winter number of *The Journal of Negro Education* appeared a series of interesting articles on significant developments in higher education for Negroes. They reported on outstanding work in such fields as remedial reading, speech education, rural education, and teacher training.

The January issue of *School Life*, published by the United States Office of Education, contained a very useful bibliography of teaching materials on China. Included were books, pamphlets, recordings, films, maps, and language primers. In the same periodical there was also an article by Francis G. Cornell analyzing the effect of the war on school enrollments and population shifts. About 10 per cent less children were enrolled in schools in 1944 than in 1940. This was a severe educational loss, but further loss to educational achievement undoubtedly resulted from the tremendous population migrations that occurred. Nearly 11 per cent of all children under 14 changed their residence from one county or state to another during the war. The consequent loss through interrupted attendance and changed curricula represents another of the intangible costs of war.

The New England Regional Conference, of the American Education Fellowship, formerly the Progressive Education Association, will be held on May 3-4 at the Hotel Bradford in Boston.

The first permanent series of education broadcasts in the history of television are being inaugurated by the National Broadcasting Company in New York City during the week of April 7. Called "Your World Tomorrow," the series deals with new developments in the physical sciences. Plans call for telecasts from laboratories, museums and other sources of scientific interest.

The latest publication of the Curtis Publishing Company may quickly become a popular

addition to school classrooms and libraries. The new magazine, which made its first appearance in March, is *Holiday*, and it is devoted to hobbies, travel, and leisure-time interests. It has articles on places to go and wide variety of help for the tourist. For those who seek pleasure at home, the first issue had articles on such varied interests as square-dancing, puzzle construction, collecting chessmen, and cooking. The subscription price of \$5.00 puts *Holiday* in the luxury magazine class, but it promises to give full value in attractiveness and reader pleasure.

BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship was established by the American Historical Association in December, 1945. It is to be awarded annually for the best original manuscript, either completed or in progress, on American history. This includes the history of the United States, Latin America, and Canada, from the sixteenth century to the present. Each Fellowship has a cash value of \$1,000; the author will also receive a 5 per cent royalty of the retail price of the book after editorial and manufacturing costs have been met. There is no requirement that a Fellow should obtain a leave of absence from his normal occupation.

The primary purpose of the Fellowship is to aid competent scholars. No doctoral dissertation will be eligible unless it is complete and has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph. D. degree. Manuscripts may range from 50,000 to 125,000 words. Literary merit, as well as scholarship, will be considered an important factor. In order to be eligible for the 1946 award, manuscripts must be submitted not later than September 1, 1946. Application forms and further information may be obtained from Dr. Arthur P.

Whitaker, Chairman of the Committee, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

MIDDLE STATES COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The Middle States Council for the Social Studies will hold its spring meeting in Baltimore at Johns Hopkins University on May 17th and 18th. On May 17th at 6:30 p. m. there will be a dinner meeting in Levering Hall, Johns Hopkins Campus, at which time Dr. Arthur C. Bining, President of the organization, will give the address. On Saturday morning, May 18th, from 10 to 12 a. m., there will be three conferences for teachers and educators in the social studies field. One conference will deal with the elementary level. The second will deal with the secondary school level, and the third will deal with the collegiate and university level. There will be a luncheon meeting on Saturday afternoon, May 18th at 1 p. m. The major address will be given by an outstanding person in the Department of State or Congress.

An historical excursion throughout old and historic portions of Baltimore has been scheduled for Saturday afternoon, May 18th, from 3 to 5 p. m. under the direction of Mr. James Foster, Director of the Maryland Historical Society.

Hotel reservations must be made at least one month in advance at the Emerson Hotel and Hotel Belvedere. The Stafford Hotel requests that reservations be made six weeks in advance. A complete program of the meeting may be secured by writing to Dr. Paul O. Carr, Secretary of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies, Wilson Teachers College, Washington 9, D. C.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by IRA KREIDER

Abington High School, Abington, Pennsylvania

One Nation. By Wallace Stegner and the Editors of *Look Magazine*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. Pp. 340. Illustrated. \$3.75.

One Nation is a book of excellent photo-

graphs and well chosen reading material on the minorities in America. Much of the effectiveness of the book is gained by the superior and well chosen photographs. It is a book which could be profitably read by everyone in

our democracy. There are chapters on each of our minority groups: Filipinos, Japanese-Americans, Chinese, Mexicans, American Indians, Negroes, Jews and Catholics.

Reading each chapter one is aware of the common problems each minority has faced. Each group has gone through a period of back-breaking labor at nominal salaries, until the war years have somewhat eased the economic situation. Problems of delinquency have resulted due to poorly organized social life and undesirable reaction. Concentration of the group into a congested area has caused poor health, disease and a breakdown of morals. The war has done nothing to alleviate these problems. Many laws have been passed which have worked to the minorities' disadvantage. Prejudices have been built up for economic reasons. Often one group would inherit the prejudice of another as in the case of the Japanese who followed the Chinese in California. Segregation may be official, as in the case of the Indians, or merely due to social pressures, poverty and natural cohesiveness of the group.

Most of the 45,000 Filipinos live along the Pacific coast. The majority are migrant agricultural workers. The alien land laws of ten western states prevent them from owning land. They are probably the loneliest of all the minorities since few Filipino women have come to the states and miscegenation laws prevent marriage to the Caucasian race.

During the Second World War the United States Government moved 117,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast to relocation camps. Racial prejudice and economic factors had much to do with evacuation of this group. Stringent alien land laws followed by the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924 were used to control their economic expansion. Most of the Japanese-Americans have been aided in finding new homes in other areas of the United States.

The cohesive Chinese family was a very valuable asset in the overcrowded, unsanitary slums where they were forced to live. The war has done much to break up the Chinatowns as few well trained Chinese are forced to remain in these restricted areas since the demand for labor has been so great.

It may surprise the reader to learn there are 3,500,000 Mexicans in the United States,

ranking next to the Negro as a minority group. The typical Mexican came as a result of labor recruiting, the greatest number between 1910 and 1929. When his work was completed he was generally stranded and became an object of racial discrimination due to his dark color, foreign culture, language and poverty. During the war the governments of Mexico and the United States controlled importation of laborers and avoided many mistakes of the past.

The second generation Mexicans in Los Angeles are referred to as "pachucos." They face the usual problems of adjustment of the second generation but under many handicaps: poverty, illiterate parents, and a society that refuses to recognize them as either white or Negro.

The chapter on American Indian traces governmental policies from the time of their subjugation through the general allotment Act and the "Americanization" program up to 1929, when a long range program was developed under Charles Rhoads and, later, John Collier. Recent programs show promise of achieving self-government for each tribe and encouragement of the arts and folkways that were discouraged under previous plans. The new policy is to encourage the Indian to develop as an equal to white Americans.

Neglect is given as the main problem of the Spanish Americans (Hispanos) who live in the state of New Mexico. Many of the counties are 80 per cent Spanish American in population. Their culture is still that of the Spanish settlers and only recently has the nation attempted to help them overcome their problems of disease, malnutrition, superstition and lack of educational facilities.

The chapter on Negroes shows very graphically why being born a Negro means being a "member of the lowest caste and probably of the lowest economic class." Jim Crowism is shown at its worst. The war has done much to give the Negro better paying jobs and greater self-respect. Perhaps housing is the greatest problem at present.

Catholicism's early development in America is traced and the opposition by organizations briefly sketched. Pictures and descriptions of the Trappist monks' life at the New Melleray Abbey in Peosta, Iowa, show another view of

Catholicism in America.

Jewish history is told from early European origins to the immigration to the United States. They have remained "different" because of habits which were brought from the European ghettos. Their religion has made their traditional holidays conflict with Christian holidays and they have suffered the difficulties of other immigrants of foreign culture.

The concluding chapter summarizes the recent gains in the status of minority groups and describes successful experiments such as the "Springfield Plan" and "Panels of Americans." The Parkway Gardens, New York, is pointed to as an example of a mixed community. We must agree, certainly, that to "achieve a harmony of our races and creeds into a single nation . . . is a job for the average American in every community." *One Nation* will be welcomed as a "Handbook for All Americans" in this most urgent task of achieving harmony of races and creeds!

RAY LUSSENHOP

Austin High School
Chicago, Illinois

Nationalities and National Minorities (With Special Reference to East-Central Europe). By Oscar L. Janowsky. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. 232. \$2.75.

For those who ask "Why can't there be a United States of Europe similar to the United States of America?" Mr. Janowsky has the answer. Whereas Americans migrated to their country, chose new homes, new government, and a common language largely because they wanted to get away from the past, European peoples have occupied their homelands for centuries, jealously guarding traditional languages and customs.

In the case of east-central Europe, many small areas of population have been compulsively incorporated in one country or another, forced to live under régimes distasteful to the inhabitants. The states of this section are unlike western states in that they are composed of many "national fragments" within so-called nations—most of which are at odds with one another. The only hope of peaceful solution to their problems, Mr. Janowsky opines, is the multi-national state in which languages and cultures of all are equal.

Mr. Janowsky describes three multi-national states in detail. Switzerland, divided into cantons, each with broad powers of local self-government and choice of official language—German, French, or Italian, in the main—has had successful overall political unity for more than one hundred years. South Africa, which for years suffered from friction and open warfare between Boers and Britons, settled its difficulties by bilingualism—the language of both groups equal under the law. The Soviet Union, by far the largest example of multi-nationalism, has a closely supervised and centralized government made up of many national fragments, each with its own language and customs. Former "inferior and subject peoples" have been encouraged to maintain their identities while learning the Russian language and culture. This sort of federalism has led to unity rather than confusion.

Mr. Janowsky shows keen understanding of minority problems and sets forth clearly the difference between small and buffeted east-central nationalities and larger and more settled west-European countries whose unification under kings had been accomplished while linguistic and cultural consciousness was still rudimentary. The author's conclusions might very conceivably help solve some of the knotty problems facing the United Nations.

Associate professor of history in the College of the City of New York, Mr. Janowsky has traveled extensively and has studied at first hand the problems he discusses with so much candor. No student of modern government and world affairs can afford to miss his interesting and timely study of national minorities.

MILDRED BAIR LISSFELT

Abington, Pennsylvania

Economic Analysis and Problems. By John F. Cronin. New York: American Book Company, 1945. Pp. xv., 623. \$3.75.

This new text, by the professor of economics at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, includes the usual topics of general economics, as indicated by the titles of its four parts: "The Structure of the Economic System" (economic history, production, business organization), "Value, Price, and Exchange," "The Functioning of the Economic System" (international trade, public utilities, and other general economic problems),

ECONOMICS FOR OUR TIMES

By August H. Smith

Formerly Chairman, Department of Social Studies
High School of Commerce
Springfield, Massachusetts

A new
functional
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and "Problems and Philosophies of Distribution." It attempts to make economic theory credible by the use of illustrative material, including the recent theories of oligopoly and of full employment. The theory which is presented, however, is neither rigorous nor comprehensive. The definition of the market is characteristic: "It is any place, regardless of its extent or character, where buyers and sellers may deal readily in any economic good." Imagine students trying to apply semi-mathematical concepts of demand and supply to such an indeterminate milieu!

Economic problems are discussed in the customary meliorist tone. This is supported by the innovation of chapters on religious programs of social reform. One chapter is devoted to Protestant and Jewish programs, and two to Catholic programs. The plea is that these are equally as important as economic and political programs.

The author suavely sidesteps the Malthusian doctrine of population and wages, but gives the rest of the theory of distribution the usual emphasis. In the chapter on political reform

movements, he explains the social democracy of Sweden, the authoritarian corporative state of Portugal, and the Communist experiment in Russia. The three are discussed fairly and objectively, with, however, a shade of bias in favor of Salazar's dictatorship in Portugal. In a section on Communism in the United States the author abandons the role of impartiality, and displays antagonism.

The instructor and the student will find this book teachable and readable, interpretive of the main body of American economic thought, but not especially profound nor provocative.

EDGAR Z. PALMER

University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Larger Than the Sky: A Story of James Cardinal Gibbons. By Covelle Newcomb. Illustrated by Addison Burbank. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 216. \$2.50.

The soul of man is larger than the sky,
Deeper than the ocean, or the abysmal dark
Of the unfathomed center. . . .

Hartley Coleridge

Covelle Newcomb has a knack for selecting appropriate titles, and a talent for writing entertaining and convincing biographical stories for readers of high school age and older. Her latest offering, *Larger Than the Sky*, is the heart-warming account of many significant moments in the life of James Cardinal Gibbons, a great man, a great Catholic, a great American. His truly "large" soul was all-embracing in love of life, country, and mankind; fearless in fighting intolerance; zealous in promoting mutual understanding and forbearance; untiring in the struggle to improve the lot of the underprivileged and to bring all mankind closer to God.

Here is a story of wholehearted appreciation for America and for our democratic form of government. Teachers of the social studies will be as glad to recommend this book to their pupils as they would be happy to welcome young James Gibbons himself to their classrooms. He loved American history. Even on holidays, this Baltimore-born lad, who lived for a short time in Ireland, delighted in weaving games about the American heroes he admired, and dramatizing events of historical importance. When he proposed playing "Cross the Delaware," the little brook in Ballinrobe took on magnificent proportions to provide the proper setting and companions caught his enthusiasm. "The lines came easy. They knew them like their prayers."

All through his long life he gloried in being an American, using all his energies in the service of his country and his church. He regarded the Constitution as "the greatest instrument of government that ever issued from the hand of man." When the question rose as to what offering the United States should send Pope Leo XIII on the occasion of his golden jubilee, Cardinal Gibbons suggested: "A superb gift—and only America can give it . . . A copy of the Constitution." Philadelphia, deeming it "unthinkable to celebrate the Constitution Centennial without him," invited Cardinal Gibbons to offer the prayer at Independence Hall.

With engaging simplicity but dramatic forcefulness, Covelle Newcomb unfolds the various scenes in the life of this *priest* who preferred work among the lowly; of this *bishop* who reluctantly accepted the honors thrust upon him, consoled by the knowledge that his future vic-

ariate was "poor and uninviting;" of this *cardinal* who fought for education and for the rights of labor.

The last message of Cardinal Gibbons to young Americans is applicable today. He said in part: "Expect great things . . . for greater opportunities are ahead; greater than any that have come before. But only those who have the courage and the vision to *expect* them will profit when they come . . . Be tolerant. Forget the prejudice that separates you from other men, and remember the great common ties that bind us all together as children of God, traveling the road of life together."

SISTER MARY GRACE, S.M.

John W. Hallahan Catholic Girls' High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Saints and Strangers. By George F. Willison.
New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1945. Pp.
513. \$3.75.

Mr. Willison tells the story of the founding and early years of Plymouth Colony in a very human, understanding and interesting manner. These are no stiff-necked blue-noses, the "saints and strangers" of this volume. Elder Brewster had a violet coat and "1 paire of greene drawers." Imagine!

Historical scholars and students have known, for more than half a century, that the traditional view of the Pilgrims has not been correct. The trouble has been that, increasingly, the books of scholars have been read only by other scholars. Meanwhile, Pilgrims and Puritans have been misunderstood, especially the former. This fascinating volume should help to correct the situation.

Saints and Strangers is especially important for teachers. There are at least three good reasons why school libraries should include this book. Teachers need to read it—they will also enjoy it. Secondly, it is full of material to quote, or to which students may be referred (Mr. Willison goes back at least a century to develop his background). Finally, teachers aware of the value of primary sources for school use will find this book, which is based on, and quotes liberally from the sources, an excellent means of leading students to Bradford and other seventeenth century writers.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

New York City

An *Introduction to Physical Anthropology*. By M. F. Ashley Montagu. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1945. Pp. xiv, 325. \$4.00.

Basic to all other anthropological studies, in the estimation of the author, is physical anthropology, "the science of man as a physical organism in relation to his total environment." Indicative of the importance which the author attributes to anthropological studies are these words from the preface:

... If civilization is to continue, scientific thought must be increasingly applied to man himself. We stand badly in need of a saner distribution of scientific interests.

Dr. Montagu recognizes that the small size of his volume has limited the presentation of subject-matter, and also, that what has been presented is set forth in a very general way. He wishes the reader to know, nevertheless, that the book represents an endeavor on his part to give a grasp of fundamental facts and to bring about an awareness of some of the problems in the field.

With emergent man as the theme, more than a hundred pages are devoted to zoological and paleontological considerations. *Pithecanthropus*, *Sinanthropus*, the Piltdown man, the Neanderthals, and the Cro-Magnons all figure here. One conclusion is this:

Homo sapiens appears to have been differentiated as a distinct type as early as the beginning of the Pleistocene, almost a million years ago, while . . . Neanderthal man, who morphologically possessed many more primitive characters, appeared considerably later. (pp. 104-105).

Such a conclusion is just the reverse of what has been held by many anthropologists.

Attempting to answer the question as to the point in the evolutionary process at which an animal ceases to be an ape and becomes definitely human, Dr. Montagu writes:

It is not necessarily the number of resemblances involved which matters—though this is important—so much as the qualities of those resemblances. Thus, for example, ape-like canine teeth and the absence of a chin are found together only among the apes. (p. 65).

A Short History of the Far East

By

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

*D. Willis James Professor of Missions and
Oriental History at Yale University*

This new college text covers the entire history of the Far East from the dawn of recorded history to the present time. It discusses all phases of history—cultural, political, diplomatic, economic, and religious. Major attention is given to China, as the country which has the largest population and the greatest influence, and to Japan, as the country which, until recently, was the outstanding political power in the Far East. Approximately one half of the book is devoted to the Far East and India, before the revolutionary impact of the Occident in the 19th century. The remainder of the book gives a somewhat more detailed account of the Far East in the 19th and 20th centuries when the influence of the West was fully felt.

Published March 19th \$4.75

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This statement he qualifies in these words:

When one or both of these characters is found in any mandible the suggestion is that we are dealing with an ape, but when in the same skull we find a brain capacity very substantially exceeding that of an ape and falling within the range of that of a man, such a single fact would alone qualitatively outweigh any quantity of ape-like characters. Such an aggregation of characters has actually occurred in more than one example of fossil man. (p. 65-66).

He then adds:

Usually the form of the vault of the head and of the jaws, and the size and form of the teeth are alone sufficient to make the differentiation between the ape and man clear.

Apes do not habitually walk erectly, when, therefore, we find evidences of the habitual assumption of the erect posture, we have a definite indication of the attainment of hominid status. (p. 66).

Man's arrival in America, by way of Bering Strait is conjectured to have been about 25,000 years ago. Successive waves of migration are believed to have taken place, bringing in both Mongoloids and Caucasoids, with the former predominating. (p. 109-110). The discovery in Ecuador of a skull resembling that of an Australian aborigine points to the "possibility of an Australoid contribution" to some part of the Amerindian population. (p. 113).

The chapter entitled, "The Divisions and Ethnic Groups of Man," has this to offer:

The recent cult of the Nordic in Germany, where the type occurs less frequently than in any other lands of its distribution, can only be regarded as an unfortunate perversion of thought, for there are no anthropological grounds whatever upon which it can be sustained. (p. 179).

The author fails to make clear that the cult of Nordicism has not been confined to the German Reich. As a matter of fact, the earliest notable writer on this particular form of ethnocentrism was the French Count Arthur de Gobineau, who achieved fame with his *Inequalities of the Human Races*. De Gobineau, be it said, considered himself, not a Latin, but a descendant of the Germanic Franks who gave France its name. Another promulgator of the cult was British-born Houston Stewart Cham-

berlain, widely known as the author of *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. Our own country has furnished a number of ardent champions in this category. Among them are Lathrop Stoddard and Madison Grant, authors, respectively, of *The Rising Tide of Color* and *The Passing of a Great Race*.

Then, too, it should be pointed out that, since the early 1920's, our immigration laws have been framed so as to give the advantage to people from Northwestern Europe. Apparently, we have this *Herrenvolk* idea, also. Ordinarily, the term "Nordic" is used as a synonym for "Germanic," or "Teutonic," and includes, Scandinavians, and the descendants of Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Goths, Lombards, etc., as well as inhabitants of the defeated Reich. Doubtless the German viewpoint regarding the Supermen has been very similar to that of Count de Gobineau.

If we are to define the term rigidly, it is evident, of course, that many persons of Northwestern-European stock will fall outside the Nordic classification. Even in the Swedish population, brunettes do occur. Dr. Montagu's contention that the Nordic type appears less frequently in Germany "than in any other lands of its distribution" is a statement which may be questioned by ethnologists.

The volume has many pages of technicalities to dismay the layman. With the technicalities omitted, however, it is still worthwhile for the general reader. The book impresses the reviewer as the possible nucleus for a larger and more philosophical work.

There is an excellent bibliography.

J. F. SANTEE

Oregon College of Education
Monmouth, Oregon

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

Edited By R. T. SOLIS-COHEN
Philadelphia, Pa.

International Trade Foreign Investment and Domestic Employment including Bretton Woods Proposals. A Statement on National Policy by the Research Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1945. Pp. 26.

The authors believe that foreign trade will play a vital role in our post-war economy and they make this Statement of Policy in the hope

Everyday Problems in Economics

by May Wood-Simons, Ph.B., M.A., Ph.D.

Formerly, Instructor of Economics

Northwestern University

Everyday Problems in Economics is written concisely and clearly in a new and refreshing manner. The subject is approached from the wider viewpoint of the consumer than that of the producer. This book is more than a comprehensive introductory text to the study of economics. Not only does it probe and examine the nature of our basic economic and political institutions, but it also interprets them in the light of contemporary problems common to all of us.

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that it will contribute to a wide discussion and examination of the factors involved.

European Jigsaw. By Samuel Van Valkenburg.

Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association. Number 53. July-August 1945.

Illustrated. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

An atlas of boundary problems, this booklet includes the twenty-five main boundary problems of Europe. It concludes with the statement that political boundaries are never inherently good or inherently bad. They always represent compromises based upon the momentary balancing of ideals and what are believed to be practical considerations of statesmanship at the moment. If the trend away from political nationalism in its more recent and rabid forms is hastened by the new United Nations Organization, as well as might be, the injured sentiments which may follow from these compromises should raise no insoluble problems for the future.

Only by Understanding. By William G. Carr.

Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association. No. 52. May-June, 1945. Pp. 96.

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The United Nations Charter: What Was Done at San Francisco. By Clark M. Eichelberger. New York: American Association for the United Nations, 1945. Pp. 48. 10 cents.

This pamphlet explains in simple terms the basic provisions of the Charter. It reviews the six principal organs of the international machinery, describing how they will function. The pamphlet deals with other subjects coming under the jurisdiction of the world organization, including membership, pacific settlement of disputes, prevention of aggression, regional arrangements, the "veto," human rights, treaties, and amendments, and analyzes autonomous agencies such as UNRRA and the Bretton Woods agreements. The analysis ends with a section on the "Role of the United States."

The Evaluation of Student Reactions to Teaching Procedures. By Roy C. Bryan. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Bulletin of the Graduate Division Western Michigan College, 1945. Pp. 29. \$1.00.

The writer's purpose is to summarize in brief, usable form, available information which is needed by the classroom teacher who is interested in getting and interpreting student opinion regarding elements in the teaching situation on which the teacher desires information.

Doorways to Religion in Family Living. Prepared by The Committee of Consultants on Religion in the Home. New York: The Women's Foundation, 1945. Pp. 32.

The Committee points out the need of religion in the home. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish prayers and booklists are included.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Key to Japan. By Willard Price. New York: The John Day Company, 1946. Pp. 309. \$3.50.

The author explains the Japanese way of doing things and describes some Japanese scenes and customs with simplicity and force.

History of the United States of America. By Henry William Elson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. xxv, 1071, lxvi. Illustrated. \$4.00.

A revised and enlarged edition of a text that has had a long and steady sale.

Brazil: People and Institutions. By T. Lynn Smith. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. Pp. xxi, 843. \$6.50.

The author of this comprehensive study of Brazil's people and institutions has served as a visiting professor and as Agricultural Analyst at the American Embassy in Rio de Janeiro.

The Veteran and His Marriage. By John H. Mariana. New York: Council on Marriage Relations, Inc., 1945. Pp. xii, 303. \$2.75.

The analysis of the factors causing marriage break-downs of veterans is equally applicable to non-veterans. The author gives the industrial personnel manager a responsibility in aiding marital adjustments and offers much legal information.

Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Reference Guide. By Bruce Lannes Smith, Harold D. Lasswell and Ralph D. Casey. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. 435. \$5.00.

A comprehensive, annotated bibliography of writings on propaganda, communication, and public opinion, including books, pamphlets, and articles appearing between 1934 and 1943. Also four chapters on the science of mass communication.

Social Education for Young Children in the Kindergarten and Primary Grades. Edited by Mary Willcockson and Ernest Horn. Washington, D. C.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1946. Pp. 119. Paper. \$1.00.

Prepared to provide kindergarten and primary teachers with the best present day thinking related to the purposes, materials, and procedures in the problems of social education in their grade levels.

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Continuing The Historical Outlook

MAY, 1946

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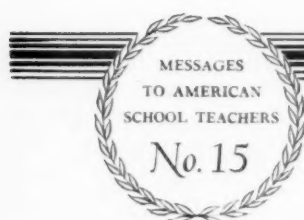
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